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MEMORIALS
OF
OLD NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

THE "ARMADA HOUSE," WESTON (1588).

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MEMORIALS

OF

OLD NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

EDITED BY

ALICE DRYDEN.

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PREFACE.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE is so rich in interest, both historically and architecturally, that it has been thought that another book, which does not encroach upon the provinces of the county history or guide-book, but which seeks to illustrate certain objects of interest and historic association, would not be out of place.

In considering the subjects, I thought that many people would like to have some of my father's notes on the county. I had intended to include a few that were unpublished, but on further consideration I found they were so incomplete that instead I have reprinted some that were only accessible to a limited number in the pages of the Architectural Societies' Reports. I have endeavoured, by cutting these down, to bring them to a level of more general interest, without impairing the value of the contribution.

My thanks are due to all those who have helped with illustrations, but especially to the Writers who have so kindly contributed chapters; also to Mr. J. A. Gotch, Mr. C. A. Markham, Father Gerard, S.J., Mr. Henry Ellis, and others, who have helped me with various notes.

ALICE DRYDEN.

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NORTHAMPTONSHIRE VILLAGES.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE might almost be termed an undiscovered county, so little is known of its beauties and associations by the general public. A good many people may know it as the home of the Pytchley, famous amongst packs in a famous fox-hunting district; the student of architecture may know it as the setting of some of his fairest gems; but it is quite unusual to put forward Northamptonshire as a happy hunting-ground for lovers of pretty scenery and good buildings, having historical associations to ennoble and sanctify them both. And yet it is so; the scenery has a charm all its own, it never wearies the eye with an endless flat plain, nor the spirit with an oppressively large hill that blocks out the view beyond. Here, in a dip, the road is a mere solitary lane, with its wide grass sides, its ditches full of ferns and wild flowers, and its hedges of old hawthorn mingling in the early summer their sweet May scent with the yet sweeter beans in flower beyond; then in a few minutes the road rises to the top of a hill, with a view around for miles over undulating woods and fields, with here and there the famous spires—proud land-marks of centuries—pointing upwards from their villages to help men's minds to noble thoughts and teach them from the beauties of the present how much they owe to the painstaking industry of the past. Pleasant as the scenery is, these buildings of the past, both ecclesiastical and domestic, are the glory of the county. Northampton-shire has been specially fortunate in producing everything requisite for building, and having always been rich, its

inhabitants have left behind them such grand legacies to posterity as Peterborough Cathedral, the monumental work of the Fenland monks; Burghley House, built by the great Cecil; Kirby Hall, now, alas, in ruins, a palace of Sir Christopher Hatton; Rushton Hall, the home of Sir Thomas Tresham (who built such quaint conceits as the Triangular Lodge, the "New Bield" at Lyveden, and the Market House at Rothwell); Apethorpe; Castle Ashby; Drayton, successively embellished by the De Veres, Greenes, Mordaunts, and Sackvilles; Deene Hall; Milton; Rockingham; Fawsley; and among the smaller places, Lilford; Dingley; Ashby St. Legers; Canons Ashby; Woodcroft, an old moated castle; and Northborough, an Edwardian manor-house.

"In this Shire a Travyller maye in the highwaies as he commonly travelleth, number in some Places twenty, at some stations thirty, or more Parishe Churches. And so much the rather for that the most parte of the steeples in all that Countie are carried very high with a kinde of Spire like unto a Pyramys."

These are the quaint words of Norden, one of our earliest county historians. The county has thus long been celebrated for containing "more spires and more squires than any other county in England." Some malicious person has tried to add "more mires"; and another, "more haughtiness and less hospitality"; and another, "springs and spinsters." Space forbids any description of the churches, as well as any attempt to enter into the history and chronicles of the large "salutarie and profitable seates," or the stories of the smaller ones that are still remaining, for, to quote Norden again, "No Shire within this Realme can answere the like Number of Noblemen."

The numerous and humble villages claim to be noticed. They are better worth attention than those in most counties, owing to their well-built stone houses, many of which are of the seventeenth and latter part of the sixteenth centuries. The picturesque irregularity of the

buildings, with bits of old brick here and there, the high-pitched thatch roofs, with their growths of vegetation, and sometimes the brightly-painted outside shutters and doors, produce a glow of colour foreign to many English dwellings.

When the Wars of the Roses ended, the need for fortified houses declined; this, coupled with the rise of the woollen industry and the buying of estates by merchants, was the starting point of domestic building in the country; so it came about that the rich and prolific soil of Northamptonshire soon attracted those able to invest money. Agriculture was not, however, the only remunerative occupation that attracted money to the county. The shoe trade was from an early date one of its staple industries.

Compared to many parts of England, the villages of Northamptonshire are compact, the lone houses, or lodges, as they are called, being few in number. The houses face the street, with no gardens in front, these being "out back way." In some cases there is a green with the houses situated all round it, and generally with trees in the middle, formerly the chosen spot for the village stocks. The houses are built of the stone of the district, and there seems to have been hardly a lordship in olden times without its quarry. In the north, Barnack is famous as having provided material from Roman times. King Peada fetched stones from there in 664, for Medeshamstede, now Peterborough Abbey; taking, it is said, eight or more pair of oxen to draw one of those used in the foundations. Barnack also supplied St. Edmund's Bury, Ramsey, and other important structures. The quarries have been disused for many years. Before the draining of the Fens, Pillgate was an ancient freshwater haven for loading the stone.

Two Barnack stones by Gunwade Ferry, in the parish of Castor, are known as Robin Hood and Little John, from the tradition that two arrows were shot thither by these heroes from the adjoining churchyard of Alwalton, in Huntingdonshire. They were really set up as evidence

that carriages of stone going from Barnack to St. Edmund's Bury might pass without paying toll. The nicks at the top are in memory, it is said, of the arrows with which the Danes martyred St. Edmund.

By far the prettiest stones are the yellow and red of the middle and south of the county, of a rich warm colour when new, but assuming with age more beautiful tints than the cold grey tones of the celebrated northern quarries. The yellow Harlestone still being worked must have been known in Saxon times—*Harle*, to draw, and *stane*, stone. The roofs were originally thatched, except in the district of Collyweston, where the so-called slates have been and are used extensively. These "slates" are split slabs of limestone, and in course of time get a good weather-beaten colour; but no roofing equals, either for practical comfort or picturesque aspect, the old-fashioned "thack"—warm in winter and cool in summer. It has the further attribute of collecting the green mosses and stone-crops in patches on its brown groundwork, thus imparting additional beauty and colour to the stone walls. Red tiles seem to have been used on the larger houses only; now, alas! unsympathetic blue slates, with their accompanying flat roofs, are coming into vogue. The high or "steer" roofs are of great value in forming an effective outline; they are edged with stone coping, which is sometimes overlapped, producing a pretty serrated appearance; the coping supported by solid moulded corbels, and always surmounted with moulded caps when not, as is often the case, finished off with a chimney. The chimneys are a characteristic feature, being handsome solid stone structures, with a projected base and moulded cornice uniting two or more separate shafts. Mullioned windows always accompanied the high roofs, and often gabled dormers remain to increase the picturesqueness of the sky-line.

The water supply has been of great value to the county. It is a noteworthy fact that Northamptonshire receives no water from outside, all its springs and its six rivers—

Village Street, Morton Pinkney.

the Nene, Welland, Avon, Leam, Cherwell, and Ouse—rise within itself. In old days the Fens floated men and merchandise up to the Peterborough district; and the Nene, besides being a waterway, served to turn many mills that are still a distinct feature in the valley. They originally belonged to the abbots of Peterborough or St. James, and oftentimes proved a bone of contention between them and the inhabitants. Of wind-mills there are few now left, either of wood or stone. Three rivers rise on Naseby Field; the Nene and the Welland flowing to the Wash, and the Avon to meander through Warwickshire on its way to join the Severn. These spring-heads are, as it were, the focus of the water that rested on this high table-land in the Midlands. Though modern drainage has effected a vast change, it is still comprehensible how the Royalist cavalry got stuck in the bogs, and failed utterly to act, and "the king and the kingdom were both lost." Naseby, unlike Edge Hill, seems to have lost the landmarks of the battle in the inclosures and cultivation that have taken place since; the only certain traces remaining are the Sulby Hedges mentioned as protecting the King's Dragoons, and a ford where the road farther on crosses the Welland, called Slaughterford. Naseby spire is now a distinct feature in the surrounding landscape, but up till later years the "Old Man" presented a truncated appearance, having for its apex a copper ball that was originally brought to England from the siege of Boulogne. This odd appearance gave rise to the couplet:—

> "Naseby 'Old Man' was meant for a spire,
> But Naseby poor farmers could raise it no higher."

Boughton (not to be confused with the Duke of Buccleuch's Boughton) is one of the typical villages with old red sandstone cottages, and towards the Northampton and Kettering Road is the famous Fair Green. On an ordinary day, it appears a dull field, with a triangle of roads running across it, with some shady beech trees

surrounding the outside; yet so important a part did fairs play in the life of our ancestors that Boughton Green Fair was an epoch in the year. First getting its charter in the reign of Edward III. for three days—namely, on the vigil, the day, and the morrow of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist—it grew in importance and magnificence till, in the eighteenth century, it was attended by the grandees in coaches. Buckskin gloves and gold-laced hats were given, among other prizes, for wrestling, single-stick, races, etc. The ladies and gentlemen met to raffle, to see the shows, and went on to a ball in Northampton afterwards. Even as late as 1822 "the neighbouring families of distinction" breakfasted in the tea booth and mingled in the rustic holiday. Now it is given over to the lower classes entirely, and the importance of the cattle and horse sales has immensely diminished. The reason of the saying does not seem apparent, except in the general humidity of our climate, but the countryman will tell you "it's most sure to be wet about Boughton Green Fair." Welshmen still bring down to it droves of ponies, but their occupation of driving down cattle to the southern fairs has ceased with the general opening of railway facilities. The so-called Welsh Lane, down which they travelled through Northamptonshire, enters it by Boddington, and runs through Culworth, which was a halting-place. Culworth was once much more important. The site of a castle is still visible near the church, and the steps of a cross on the green are a survival of its market and fair that were granted in the reign of Edward III. On a house by the green is a curious carved grocer's sign of a sugar-loaf and birch broom.

A great number of buildings, both barns and houses, exhibit a striped but picturesque effect, owing to the stones used being of dull red and white, built in layers. One of the best examples is the Bede House, at Higham Ferrers, which, with the magnificent church, the school, and cross in the churchyard, forms a most striking group.

This decayed old borough, now taking new life, owing to the shoe trade, anciently belonged to the Ferrers family, who had a castle here; but its princely owners are overshadowed by the greatness of Henry Chicheley, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, and one of the most notable of Northamptonshire's sons. It is said that he was found at Higham Ferrers by William of Wykeham, tending his father's sheep like the great Giotto. This is probably an unfounded story as his father was mayor at that time; however, it is certain that he was sent by his great patron to study at his own newly-founded college, and he rose by successive steps to be the highest dignitary of his native Church. Rising superior to the factions of his age, he meted out punishment to the Lollards with one hand, and sternly opposed Papal aggression with the other, being ever one of the most zealous defenders of the rights and independence of his country.

In the days of his prosperity he did not forget his humble birthplace, and though St. John's and All Souls' at Oxford are the more famous of his foundations, yet at Higham Ferrers he set up a series of works that will bear comparison with any gifts of great men to their early home. The Bede House is now used for occasional meetings. It was originally endowed to support twelve old men (the first man being the prior), who lived in cabins and had one common large fireplace, but the cabins are now cleared away, and the money paid to outside pensioners. The windows were formerly filled with stained glass; and the bell, still in its cote on the gable-end, was to call to prayers twice a day. The school opposite, now too small for use, is built of white stone, in the architecture of Chicheley's day. The college for secular canons, a grammar and science master, and choristers, stood away from the church and town.

The cross in the churchyard is a small one, but has an ornamental Decorated shaft, of course without its *raison d'être*, the crucifix finial. There are several good village

crosses left in the county, though lamentably few considering how every village had one in its churchyard, and often wayside, market, and boundary ones besides. At Irthlingborough the carved Early English market cross has, to a great extent, perished; its shaft was at one time used as a standard length for the pole that measured different people's portions of the adjoining meadows before the parish was enclosed. Another interesting market cross is in the centre of Brigstock, a well-preserved structure of Renaissance design. It has engraved on two sides of its head the Royal Arms, and on the other two "E. R., 1586," marking the date of its erection. On the shaft, in commemoration of our other queens, is cut "A. R., 1705," and "V. R., 1887."

A story remains of the quarrels that took place in this village about the common lands, which resulted on one occasion in the gift of a church bell that was rung thrice every day—at four and eleven in the morning, and eleven at night. The story was that in the reign of Elizabeth a certain John Barton, being threatened by Sir John Zouche that he would ruin him if he insisted upon his right to graze his animals on the common of Benefield, Barton replied that he would leave a cow that, pulled by the tail, would low three times a day, to be heard all over the common.

A very charming cross of fourteenth century work is at Helpston, a solid octagon on circular steps, with pilasters and crocketed gables. The shaft is a tapering octagonal monolith. This structure appears to be unique, but bears a certain resemblance to the White Friars cross near Hereford.

In the southern end of the county is Astrop, a hamlet of King's Sutton, which at one time must have been a large and fashionable resort, similar to Tunbridge Wells; for on the discovery of the virtue of a mineral spring it appears to have attracted so many visitors that assemblies for cards and balls were rife. Where have the buildings

Village Cross, Brigstock (1586.)

suitable for the accommodation of the gay throng vanished without leaving any trace? And why has no contemporary gossip left us any chronicles of its ways and doings? There are some curious old lines published in 1786, on the abolition of the Goose Feast at Astrop, too long to quote entire, but from which we gather the wells were then out of date:—

"Where were ye cacklers of the Wells,
Ye brilliant beaus and lovely belles?
* * * *
Astrop, once esteemed so clever,
Now sinks for ever and for ever."

In connection with geese, there is a pretty old legend alluded to by Drayton:—

"the Nene . . .
Falleth in her way with Weedon, where, 'tis said,
St. Werburgh, princely born, a most religious maid,
From these peculiar fields, by prayer, the wild fowl drove."

St. Werburgh, having come from her convent at Ely to be prioress of that at Weedon, the geese from the Fens followed her from affection, but did such damage to the cornfields that, by the farmers' request, she ordered them to take flight and never more appear at Weedon. They obeyed, after hovering round and round, till one of their companions which had been killed was restored to them! St. Werburgh was buried at Chester afterwards, where the cathedral is dedicated to her, and on one of the misericords is a carving descriptive of the old legend.

Weedon was, in the days of Leland, "much celebrated by carriars, bycause it stondeth hard by the famous way there commonly callid of the people 'Watheling Street.'" The carriers of those days used not even the lumbering old vehicles we still see plying between out-of-the-way places and market towns, but strings of pack-horses, carrying their goods in sacks and panniers, led along by their attendants, and putting up at night at an inn.

The old village inns have been much restored and brought up to date, both outside and in. No longer are found the chimney corners with the fire on the hearth, the oak settle that kept off the draughts, the penny-in-the-slot brass tobacco-boxes, the conical copper beer-warmer, or the horns for drinking. Happily, the outside of some are left in good order, and among them one of the oldest is the "Swan" at Harringworth, dating back to the fifteenth century. It must have been of great importance and size formerly. The old pointed archway that led to the court-yard has been, within the last year or so, destroyed, and replaced with a modern arch.

The Zouches were lords of Harringworth from Edward I. to Charles I., and obtained leave from Richard II. to make a castle of their manor-house, and hold a yearly fair for three days, and a weekly market. Between the house and the church was the Monumental Chapel, and, according to tradition, the vault communicated with the cellar, giving rise to the following verse by Ben Jonson, somewhat characteristic of the feelings of the author:—

> "Whenever I dye, let this be my fate,
> To lie by my good Lord Zouche;
> That when I'm a-dry to the tap I may hye,
> And go back again to my couch."

The castle and chapel are now completely demolished, the fair and market lost in oblivion; a fine cross shaft, and the once-important inn of the Zouches alone have survived in part witness to the past. The church, with its little spire, stands near by the inn, and farther on runs the Welland, meandering along grass meadows, its course marked by silvery willows and reeds and rushes waving by its edges, affording a play-ground for the village ducks. There are few more peaceful places than this little valley at Harringworth, the borderland of Rutland and Northamptonshire. Behind it rises Gretton-on-the-Hill, one of the prettiest villages in the county. It abounds in picturesque bits, steep and irregular streets; almost every house is

well built, some of them are of striped work, many with good typical windows and stone doorways; there is a green in the centre, with the old stocks and whipping-post, and though the inn is not interesting, it is remarkable for an elaborate ironwork sign; the only thing Gretton lacks might be the richer colour of the more southern sandstones.

Near Gretton is Rockingham, of which the castle has been called "the Windsor of the Midlands." It was a Royal residence, built by William the Conqueror on the site of ancient earth-works, where the steep descent and long stretch of view pointed out the spot as an ideal one for defence. Quite feudal in its aspect, situated at the foot of the hill, under the Castle, in the place where the retainers' dwellings were of yore, the village bears evident marks of the interest and care of its owners. Originally situated in the Royal Forest of Rockingham, it came into the hands of the Watsons in the reign of James I., in whose family it still remains.

Rivers abound in the county, and yet being small, the

"Gelden streames so interlaceinge the cheareful Hills and Dales,"

naturally induced the formation of bridges, instead of depending on fords, which were liable to high floods. Here and there Edwardian masonry may still be traced in the arches. Ditchford and Geddington are good specimens of fair-sized bridges with several arches and prominent cut-waters, built beside and co-existent with the old ford; they are just wide enough for one vehicle. Of a great age, and pointing to the anxiety of our forefathers to keep their merchandise dry, is an old pack-horse bridge at Charwelton, in which parish the Cherwell takes its rise, and its first bridge is this at the entrance to the village, consisting of two pointed arches and a cut-water, with parapets on each side, giving width for both foot and horse passengers. Unfortunately, it is now dwarfed and blocked up considerably by the modern construction carrying the road. Though generally considered to be of the

middle of the thirteenth century, it would appear likely to date from the York and Lancastrian Wars, when the road from the Midlands to London turned through the village from Church Charwelton, and eventually became one of the great highways of the coaching era. The railways that made the village posting inn into a farmhouse have done much to abolish local characteristics everywhere, and Northamptonshire is no exception. Their distributing influence has had a marked effect on building, as local productions are easily superseded.

Of village industries, about the only one carried on with the same tools that were used two or more centuries ago is lace-making, which has had a much-desired revival of late in many of its old haunts. Shakespeare, in "Twelfth Night," speaks of—

> "The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
> And the free maids that weave their threads with bone."

The spinsters exist no longer, though weaving of linen, plush, and silk was common till late in the nineteenth century. Towcester and the southern part of the county was famous for its silk stockings, and near by, at Abthorpe, a public-house has for its sign "The Stocking Frame."

Another industry that has left its mark in some field names was the cultivation of woad for the dyers, in this proverbially "least wooded, most woaded of any county." In the earlier part of the nineteenth century there were still wad grounds—"wad" is the Saxon form of the word —round Hardingstone, and huts which the wadders lived in during the summer, while the work went on of growing the crop, cutting the leaves, and grinding them into a paste, which was made into balls and dried by the wind.

The charcoal burners and swineherds disappeared with the enclosure of the forests; the saw-pit with its hand-sawyers, that were to be found at work in every village woodyard, will soon be as extinct as the wadders. The good thatcher and hedge-cutter are now difficult to find,

Village Stocks, Eydon.

and undoubtedly the scarceness of the latter is one great reason that wire fencing is so much used to supplement the weak, badly-laid hedges.

Dialect, like the industries, has also undergone great alterations, but happily some of the old-fashioned folk are still to be met with in the green lanes and villages of our agricultural county. The more we know of its story, the more we shall say:

> "I doe love these auncient *villages*.
> We never tread upon them but we set
> Our foote upon some reverend historie."

ALICE DRYDEN.

THE HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTON TOWN.

THE situation of the town of Northampton, on ground sloping gently to the south-west, and watered on the west and south by the River Nene, must always have been a tower of strength, but it is not until the Norman invasion that the town claims more than antiquarian interest.

It was at "Hamtune," on the site of what was afterwards the castle, that the West Saxon King, Edward the Elder, in 922 built one of the chain of forts to bind the Danelagh, and when the Danes burned it in the great harrying in 1010, and "took thereabout as much as they could," Hamtune was a place of some size, straggling along the north bank of the river. When Morkere, in 1065, marched southwards to meet his brother Eadwine, and together they laid waste the county, "slew men, burned houses and corn, took cattle, and led north with them many hundred men," so that Northamptonshire was for "many winters the worse," its unimportance is marked by the fact that the conference agreed upon by Harold and the Earls took place, not here, but at Oxford. At the Conquest it was a town of little note, which gave its name to no Earl.

With the Norman kings, the neighbouring forests, now shrunk to narrower bounds, were a source of attraction, and the geographical position of the town began to tell. Northampton, "near[1] the centre of England, so that all

[1] Fuller.

travellers coming thither from the remotest parts of the land may be said to meet by the town in the midst of their journey, so impartial is the situation of it"; half-way between the national capital of Winchester, and York, the capital of the North; between the Welsh Marches and the East coast, was a natural national centre, from which the Norman, by his impartial tyranny, was to forge the disunited mass of England into one.

The earliest proof of the town's rise is to be found in the Domesday Book. The village of sixty houses is now a town of three hundred and thirty; and the Earldom of Northampton was given first to Waltheof, the last great Englishman under William, and then through a daughter of the Countess Judith, to Simon de Senlis. The fief of the Countess Judith, mentioned in the Survey, is of special interest as that which descended to the local earl. These estates were held by her in 1086—a fact which has an important bearing on the acquisition of the earldom with her daughter by Simon de Senlis.[1] With this marriage begins the rule of the principal mediæval masters of Northampton, the Senlis, who held the earldom for just a century. The first Simon surrounded the town with walls, founded the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and built, in Norman fashion, the castle on the hill towards the West Gate; while the second Simon followed in his footsteps in founding the Abbey of De-la-pré in the meadows south of the town, and in rebuilding St. Peter's Church. Here Henry called the baronage to swear fealty, probably on the high altar of All Saints' Church, to his daughter Maud; and here, too, Stephen called his first council to receive the allegiance of the men who had previously sworn to his cousin.

Henry II.'s almost annual visits to Northampton when in England mark his sense of its position; but of all the

[1] The accepted date of the foundation of St. Andrew's Priory is 1084; but Simon, in the Foundation Charter, deals with the estates of the Earldom as then in his own possession. His Charter, therefore, must be at least later than the Domesday Survey.

royal councils held there, the Great Council of 1164 stands out as the most dramatic scene of the King's vital conflict with Becket.

The town was thronged with people of eminence when Becket, with his following of armed knights, made his way, amid a noise of cheering, to St. Andrew's Priory. Next morning, he celebrated the Mass of St. Stephen, of which the opening words are: *Sederant principes et adversum me loquebantur*—"Princes also did sit and speak against me." He then set forth, in full pontificals, to meet the Court, having his cross carried before him by Alexander the Welshman. He rode through the gate of the castle, and got off his horse at the door of the hall, and there seized the cross in his own hands, in sign that he expected a personal attack to be made upon him. "A fool he always was, and always will be," was the comment of the Bishop of London upon this forceful parade. The King, not wishing to meet him, had withdrawn into an inner room, leaving Becket, shunned by all but two or three of his clerks, to appeal from him to the Pope, "who is alone competent to judge him, since the priesthood is superior to royalty, as gold to lead."

Some even picked up and hurled at him the straws which strewed the floor, while shouts of "Traitor! traitor!" followed the Archbishop as he retired; and, turning fiercely at the word, "Were I a knight," he retorted, "my sword should answer that foul taunt." He made his bed in the Church of St. Andrew, but in the night fled away in the frock of a monk, through the North Gate, drinking, so runs the tradition, of the spring still known as Becket's Well, and made his way to the coast, whence he took ship to Flanders, for an exile of six years, ended only by his ill-fated return.

The importance of Northampton from the twelfth century is fully established by the many councils held there, and by the privilege of many royal visits. In the revolt of 1173-74, in which the younger Henry had some of the

greatest of the barons on his side, Northampton stood for the old King, and it was here he received the submission of the easily-subdued baronage, and here, also, the division of circuits for the King's Justices was first ordained.

In 1184, the line of the Earls of the family of Senlis became extinct. The earldom was not renewed, and the shrewd burgesses seized the chance to buy from the King the right of holding the town from him *in capite*—the true beginning of the full stream of their municipal life and local independence, freed from the restrictions of the Sheriff, dependent on the King, and the King alone. This privilege naturally led to their charter from Richard I., by which they could choose their own reeve, and be free as tenants of the royal domain from tolls and exactions throughout the kingdom. It is interesting to note that Northampton was chosen for the meeting of notables on the King's death, to swear fealty to John, then absent in Normandy, who throughout his reign kept up the traditional link between the court and the town, even visiting it four times in the course of one year.[1]

The stream of municipal life was destined to "slowly broaden down" the long reign of John's successor, the waxen-hearted king, "certain only in uncertainty." As an interlude, the flight of the Oxford students here from 1230-58 seemed likely for a time to give Northampton another claim to fame as a University; but the new rival was soon rudely crushed by the pressure which Oxford, as a Royalist stronghold, brought to bear upon the King. In the war between the King and the Barons, when the King appeared before Northampton, the scholars, fighting under their own banner, "did with their slings, long-bows, and cross-bows, vex and gall his men more than all the forces of the Barons beside; so that the King, taking notice of them, and zealously inquiring who they were, swore with a deep

[1] John even caused the Exchequer to be held here in the tenth year of his reign, from Michaelmas to the Nativity.

oath he would have them all hanged." They were not hanged, however, but ordered back to the University they had quitted. The King gained entrance into the town, which was held by the younger Simon de Montfort, by the convenient assistance of the Prior of St. Andrew's, whose convent garden joined the town wall, which the monks secretly undermined, supporting it with wooden props.

When Simon heard that a great portion of the wall had fallen, he made a spirited resistance, and twice beat off the assault. The third attack proved too strong for him, and as a last resource he sallied forth into the midst of the besieging army, "bearing himself manfully"; but as his horse fell back he was taken "with honour," he and his companions. The rest fled ignominiously to the refuge of church and castle, but in vain: all were taken prisoners,[1] and the King's soldiers plundered the citizens "to the last penny."

This first Royalist success was followed by a reverse. Earl Simon recaptured the town, and a brilliant tournament was held there, under the patronage of the de Montforts, to which all knights and barons throughout the kingdom were invited "to give proof of their manhood."

The tide turned again later in the year. The campaign was closed in 1266, and it was at Northampton the Council met to restore order to the country.

By inquisition taken in 1277-8, it appears that the castle walls were embattled, and they are reported to have been broad enough for six persons to walk abreast. The burgesses still continued in Court favour, even after the barons' war, and a year later, letters patent gave them the privilege of keeping dogs in the town and suburbs without lawing them, "which shows, as social privileges always do show, more than greater things, the prosperity of those receiving them."

It was, indeed, in Edwardian times that the town touched

[1] *Annales de Dunstaplia.*

its zenith. Here, in 1284, when the last of the Welsh princes was executed, one of his quarters was given to Northampton to be shown upon the town gate—a proof, if proof were needed, of its notable position among English towns. The same idea is shown in Northampton being chosen, in 1283-4, as the place of a Parliament for the countries south of the Trent. The second Edward, then uncrowned, held a Parliament here in 1307, and again in 1317; and in the requisition for the Scotch war, the town sent a larger number of men than any place but Winchester. It was under the Edwards that the town played the largest part in history, and appeared destined to be permanently one of the capitals of the country. One of the royal Heralds took his title from it; and the great religious orders—the Grey, the White, the Black, the Austin Friars—chose it for their headquarters. Yet this secure prosperity was but a prelude to a long decline, when, with the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War, the centre of interest changes from home to foreign politics. From the time of Creçy, no Parliament meets here, save one, when there was a lull of peace between England and France in Richard II.'s reign. The geographical position of Northampton lost its importance before the growth of London and the coast towns, and with that the sources of its greatness ran dry, and like other central inland towns, it sank into obscurity.

In spite of the decline of its material fortunes, its municipal life continued to be elaborated, and by the end of Henry VI.'s reign, Northampton had obtained practically full municipal powers. The Wars of the Roses affected the town but little, though it was the scene of the first decisive action—the defeat of the royal army. "The queen had caused her army to issue out of the toune and to pass the ryver of Nene, and there in the newe felde betwene Harsyngton (Hardingstone) and Sandifford the capitaynes strongly emparked themselfes with high bankes and depe trenches."

By nine o'clock the royal army became a rout. The Lancastrians had taken up a position with the Nene in the rear, and in their flight great numbers were drowned in the river. In the words of Hall, "the King's arms were profligat," and

> "In the Streame of Nen
> Ten thousand well resolu'd stout native English men
> Breathlesse."

The King was taken that night to the town, and the next day, "with great solemnitie and small comfort," was sent forward by easy stages to London, a prisoner in the Yorkists' hands.

Northampton, like the great merchant towns, stood steady for the Yorkist cause throughout the reign of Edward IV. Lord Rivers was captured there; and it is related that he, with Gloucester and Buckingham, took up their quarters in the three inns standing in the Market Place. After a drinking supper, Rivers was taken to his inn by the two Dukes, who secured the keys and posted sentinels, and arranged their forces, so that when he awoke in the morning, their superior numbers forced him into that surrender that left him

> "Shorter by a head at Pomfret."

With the Tudor Period, its place in English history is a very secondary one; and Leland, who gives a picturesque account in 1553 of the town rising "on the brow of a meane hille," notes that though the older houses were stone-built, the newer are made of timber—a sign that it was sinking to the level of an ordinary county town.

The great revolution of the sixteenth century was an economic one, founded on the replacement of the old order of feudal nobles by the new families which got possession of the fertile meadows of the county. It was the boast of Northampton that "at which gate soever you went out, you went out of a sweet town into a rich and noble champaign." These large landowners, who owed their

origin to crown favour in Tudor times—the Spencers, of Althorp; the Comptons, of Castle Ashby; the Cecils, of Burleigh—were the dominating influence, and the county town came more and more to think of itself as "the market-town for the large graziers, the capital of the county, than the separate, powerful little commonwealth of a hundred and fifty years earlier."

The influence of the patronage of the great families was seen in the famous spendthrift election of 1768—the triangular duel between Lord Northampton, Lord Halifax, and Lord Spencer—for the honour of nominating the Member for Northampton. The poll, which lasted fourteen days, showed the remarkable result that though there were only 930 electors, 1,149 votes had been recorded. Horton, Castle Ashby, and Althorp were thrown open to all voters, and "many an honest man, before as harmless as a tame rabbit, when loaded with an election dinner, became more dangerous than a charged culverin." When they had drunk all the champagne at Althorp, and were served with claret, they rejected the "sour stuff," and removed to Castle Ashby. A petition naturally followed the scandal; the struggle was renewed before a Parliamentary Committee and the question was finally decided by a toss, Lord Spencer winning, and nominating a man out in India.

The chief land-marks of the town's history, apart from its new relation to the county, were religion and trade. Northampton always, with Leicester, the Midland capital of dissent, showed an ardent Puritanism in the Civil War. In 1642, Lord Brooke seized the castle, and made it a garrison in the Parliamentary cause. Several hundred pounds were laid out upon the fortifications, and in the same year, sixty cavaliers of the company of Sir John Byron were captured at Brackley, "with above sixty horse, two hatfull of gold, about 3,000 pound of silver," and the prisoners lodged in the castle prison. The town maintained a strong position in the civil struggle from the first mustering of the Parliamentary troops there under Essex,

at the opening of the war, with orders from Parliament "by battle or other way to rescue the King from his perfidious councillors," to the final Battle of Naseby, but twelve miles away.

In 1635, the "ruines and dounefalls" of the castle mounted on a hill were still to be seen, of which only the walls of one large tower held up her head, "in spite of worme-eating Time, to signify what vseful Handmaids attended once, before they felt the hot and fierce blowes of Civell Dissensions." Owing to the part it had played therein, it was naturally one of the first towns for which the order for the demolition of castle and walls was issued by Charles II. in 1662, the King consenting that "the stone of the walls be assigned to such persons as shall speedily and thoroughly take it down, or if they refuse it, to loyal persons of the neighbouring county." In 1678 it was in private hands, a mass of dwindling ruins, used as a quarry by the neighbours.

In the same year, part of the town fell in the great fire of September 20th, 1678. The heart of London and the heart of Northampton were burnt out in the same month. "It was a city set upon a hill, but now God hath turned it into a burning beacon," writes an eye-witness. The fire, fanned by a strong west wind, fed upon the straw-thatched houses of the poorer quarter of the town, and thence "strengthening itself with ricks of corn and malterns," spread out its wing to the south and to the east, and raked the town, consuming in all six hundred houses, with the chief church of the town, All Saints'.[1]

Of trade, the second land-mark, little need here be said. It is historic, for the town's tanners, if not its shoemakers, constituted an important trade at the time of the Liber Custumarum; and in the fourth year of Edward VI. many rules are laid down for the craft of shoe-making, which

[1] Charles II. made a gift to the town of 1,000 tons of timber from Whittlebury forest, and the remission of chimney-money for seven years, on account of this great fire.

appears to have been one of the staples of the town. In Charles I.'s reign, 2,000 pairs were ordered for the army in the Irish rebellion, and in 1648 the citizens furnished Cromwell's army, that had marched shoeless through the town of Leicester, with 1,500 pairs.

In the present century, the old craft has again given consequence to Northampton, which now has its place high up in the second rank of manufacturing towns, and remarkable for the keenness and vigour of its political predilections. But behind the modern type, its chief interest lies in the historic transitions from the "small Saxon settlement, the great Norman fortress, the royal town of the Plantagenets, the vigorous municipal commonwealth, the stronghold of Puritanism, the quiet county capital," to the growing trade centre—all which successive phases lie behind and go to make what Northampton is to-day.

M. JOURDAIN.

THE CASTLE OF TICHMARSH.[1]

TICHMARSH is about two miles north-east of Thrapston, on the east side of the Nen, and about a mile from it. The river runs in a north-east direction. The village is on a ridge of land bounding the valley of the Nen, and about eighty or ninety feet above the river.

The site of the Castle adjoining the village is known as the "Castle Ground." For some years previously to 1887 the area was covered with smooth turf, the surface falling slightly to the south-east. It was bounded by a hollow, which evidently had a moat, though it had been drained for several years, the outlet being to the south-east. The boundary of the Castle was an irregular quadrangle, approximating to a parallelogram. A slope of earth inclosed the remains of a wall, of which nearly the whole outline was afterwards ascertained.

The plateau of the Castle is several feet higher than the ground beyond the moat on each of the four sides. Probably the site was a natural elevation, but raised by earth taken from the moat.

The lower part of the walls formed the boundary of the moat on the Castle side. The upper part was the containing wall of the Castle and the defence of the inmates—technically, the "revetment." This had long since been taken down, and the lower part covered with earth.

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[1] Originally published in the *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, 1892. Portions of technical details have been omitted.

Some indications of wall appeared at the north-east angle, and in 1887 a small excavation was made for the purpose of extracting stone for estate purposes. The site of the Castle and the land around it are part of the property of Lord Lilford. When he was informed of the discovery of walls, he determined on having the whole area examined, which was fully done, and occupied many months. The plans were made by the writer of this account in April and May, 1887.[1]

It was found that the lower parts of the boundary walls remained along the greater parts of the four sides, varying from 1 ft. to 8 ft. in height from what was apparently the bottom of the moat. All these walls were "battered" or sloped, mostly at the inclination of 4 in. to 3 ft. of height.

At the north-east, south-east, and south-west angles were five-sided towers projecting from the walls. Each tower had two short sides attached to the curtain walls and three longer ones. Probably higher up the towers were irregular hexagons in plan. The measure from outside to outside of the opposite walls are these:—

North-east	side,	about	238	feet.
South-west	„	„	257	„
South-east	„	„	220	„
North-west	„	„	210	„

These are not measures *between* the towers. The north-west angle has been destroyed, hence two of the measures are not exactly ascertainable.

The area contains about one acre and one pole. The moat was considerably deeper than it is now. The outer edge was not walled. The width seems to have been about 30 ft. on the north-west, 35 ft. on the south-west, 30 ft. on the south-east, and uncertain on the north-east.

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[1] Published with the account and copies deposited in the Lilford Estate Office.

The material of the wall and other buildings is limestone, which probably was obtained from Weldon, ten miles north-west. About here rock is often found near the surface, but it is only fit for road-making. No stone fit for building can be got nearer than Weldon.

Over the area of the Castle were found the lower portions of numerous buildings. The tops of most of these walls were within a few inches of the surface, and the bottoms of them originally visible—that is, excepting the foundations—from 1 ft. to 4 ft. below it.

There can be no doubt that these remains are of different periods, and that some of the superstructures were destroyed before some of the others were built.

We cannot with any confidence appropriate most of the buildings, nor decide the comparative ages of many of them.

At this point it is advisable to state what information can be got from the history of the place.

Bridges in the *History of Northamptonshire*, published in 1791, vol. ii., p. 381, stated that: "In the middle of the town is a small eminence named Chapel-hill, and a place likewise called Castle-yard, where several window-frames and door-cases of freestone have been dug up. To the east, upon the warren, stood the old manor-house, the ruins of which were lately taken down. It was called the Lodge; and the Warren sometimes called the Grove. John, son to Gilbert Pickering, removed to the present manor-house, about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It is embattled on the south side, and hath an embattled turret." Bridges states that the Lordship of Ticemerse at the Norman Survey was divided between two possessors who had each a distinct manor—the Abbot of Burgh and Henry de Ferieres.

In 1172, Robert de Ferieres, descended from Henry, had ten hides in Tichmarsh, to which he succeeded at the death of his father in 1172-3. The succeeding owners of

this manor for about a century are not given in Bridges, who continues :—

"In the fifteenth year of Edward I. (1286-7), Sir John Lovel died seized of this manor in Tichmersh, distinguished afterwards, from the possessors, by the name of Lovel's manor, in which he was succeeded by his son and heir. He was descended from a family seated at Minster, from thence called Minster-Lovel, in Oxfordshire. By the inquisition then taken, he was found to have held it of Ralph de Shirleye, who held it of the Earl of Ferrers, by whom it was held *in capite* of the Crown. In the thirty-third of the same reign (1304-5), this Sir John Lovel obtained a charter for a weekly mercate in Tychmershe on Monday, and a fair yearly on the eve of the Holy Trinity, to continue the eight following days. He had also licence to embattle his manor-house, and convert it to a castle; but whether the remains in Castle-yard are vestiges of this building, or of a castle built here by the Ferrers family, is not easy to determine. (In the inquisition taken in the twenty-first of Edward III. (1346-7) on the death of John, Lord Lovel, the capital messuage is said to have been moated round and enclosed with a stone wall after the manner of a castle.) He[1] died in the fourth of Edward II. (1310-11), having eight years before made a conveyance of this manor to John, his son and heir."

From the remains we may conclude that the castle or fortified manor-house, as originally constructed, was inclosed by a wall nearly circular, without a moat, containing within it several irregular buildings, of which some of the foundations recently discovered are portions. This inclosure was about 160 ft. in diameter internally.

The wall, it is true, varies in thickness from 2 ft. 4 in. on the east, to 4 ft. 6 in. on the south, but the ground falls to the south and south-east, and there are indications that the ground was less firm on the south than on the

[1] That is, the John who had the Charter and the Licence.

north and north-east. Outside the south part of the wall are two projecting rude buttresses, and a thick block, apparently an additional support, added to the inner face. The wall of the quadrangle has suffered in this part, and bulged out towards the south.

It is not likely that this circular wall was co-temporary with the quadrangular wall and moat, or that it continued to be used after construction of the latter. It was probably pulled down directly the latter was made. This kind of fort is termed by Clarke, in his *Military Architecture*, a "shell-keep." Probably most of the interior buildings of the first castle were of wood.

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Assuming, then, that the long curved wall was the boundary of a first Castle, and that the quadrangular wall and moat were the boundary of a second Castle, we may conjecture as to the builders of both and the dates of their construction.

We now come to the consideration of the details of the second Castle. In the middle of the north-east side is a lime-kiln and a paved road, 8 ft. 8 ins. wide, lying north-east and south-west, between it and a point near the middle of the area. From the inner end, another paved path, 4 ft. 4 ins. wide, diverges in a south-east direction. The kiln and paved road no doubt were formed to burn the stone of the buildings into lime at the destruction of the Castle; of the date of which destruction we are ignorant. It must have been before Queen Elizabeth's time.

In 1487, on the attainder of Francis, Viscount Lovell, his lands escheating to the Crown, this manor was granted to Sir Charles Somerset, who was created, in 1514, Earl of Worcester, and died in 1526. His grandson, William, Earl of Worcester, in 1553 sold the manor to Gilbert Pickering.

No date is given of the erection of the first manor-house, but probably it was built partly of stone and lime obtained

from the Castle. The older houses in the village may have been also partly from that source.

The Castle cannot have remained standing as the abode of the owners of the manor after the erection of the first manor-house, which was deserted about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and wholly destroyed about 1720 or about 1790, according as the words "lately taken down" were written by Bridges, who died in 1724, or by Whalley, who published the History in 1791.

We may, therefore, conclude that the Castle was destroyed many years before Queen Elizabeth's time, and the time at which the property was transferred from Lord Lovell to Sir Charles Somerset seems a likely time for the erection of the first manor-house.

The term "Castle" is applied to this fortified dwelling-house, but it is not a correct term. The licence to John, Baron Lovell, is to crenellate "manerium suum"—his manor-house. In many cases the licence was used to put oilets, alures, and battlements to houses which had no moats; but in this case the chief and perhaps only defence was the moat and the boundary wall—a more efficient protection than the others.

The term "Castle" is rather indiscriminately applied. It is true that no exact definition of the term can be given, but it ought not to include buildings which were common houses with some means of defence added. A strong tower or keep, walls over 3 ft. in thickness, small windows, or only oilets in the ground story, with oilets in the upper stories, and wide alures on the roof, with embattled parapets, denote a castle. Most castles had several buildings within a strongly fortified inclosure, divided into two or more baileys or courts, and having near the entrance a barbican or watch-tower. A moat was a protection common to castles and houses. Barnwell is the only castle in this county of which any considerable portion of walls remain. The gatehouse at Rockingham remains, but only fragments of the main

structure. Between the beginning of Edward I. and the end of Henry VI. licences to crenellate were given in this county for the following eight houses:—Thorp-Watervill, Braybrok, Tichmersh, Peterborough, Barton Segrave, Drayton, Makeseye, and Harringworth; and in these cases the term used is either "domum," "portam," "manerium," or "mansum."

The recurrence of the name John in the Lovell family is very puzzling. Even two brothers had the same name.

Bridges states that in the inquisition at the death of the Lord Lovell, who died in 1347, the moat and wall are mentioned as existing, not that he made them. There is no trace or record of any other moat at Tichmarsh, so that the statement must refer to the moat which we see. It is probable that this quadrangular wall and moat were made by the Lord Lovell, who obtained the licence to fortify, who held the estate twenty-five years, because it is probable that the licence to crenellate referred to some distinct manor-house on the same property. We thus arrive at the dates 1304-1311, between which the wall and moat were constructed. We may further conclude that the earlier castle was the work of one of the Ferrers family or their sub-tenants, for no proof is given in the history that any one of the family lived at Tichmarsh.

THE MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES.

THE monumental effigies of Northamptonshire may be justly regarded as forming a very fertile subject. The long array of a hundred and eighteen sculptured figures, dating from the end of the twelfth to the early years of the eighteenth century, includes representations of knights and squires "in glittering arms and glory drest," with their manifold details of harness, statues of worthies conspicuous in Elizabeth's spacious days, figures of legal dignitaries "ware and wise," of ladies accurately shown "in their habits as they lived," full of infinite and picturesque variety, and of ecclesiastics set forth with the minute changes in the forms of their immemorial vestments which advancing time brought about.

It may be premised that each figure is an absolutely faithful representation, as far as the material employed would allow. For the more intricate details of armour or of costume, attention must be given to the miniatures in illuminated manuscripts, supplemented, as to armour, in slowly-increasing measure, after the fourteenth century, by the study of portions of the actual defence. Heraldry forms also a valuable characteristic of the monumental effigies in the well-favoured county, whether exhibited on the surcotes, shields, or tabards of the men, depicted on the mantles of the women, or arrayed upon the tombs and their canopies. In the present limited essay, this picturesque attribute can only be very cursorily alluded to; and it will be convenient, for the same reasons, to consider the effigies of the knights and their ladies together, and as they fall into their places chronologically under the

date of the man's death. These, again, will be roughly formed into groups as the character of the armour or other conditions may dictate, while the ecclesiastical figures and those of legal dignitaries will be shortly and separately touched upon.

The military effigy with the earliest association in the county is that of Sir Robert de Vere, at Sudborough, died 1250. It was probably set up some years after his death. He is shown in a mail hood, continuous with the hauberk, after the early manner, the legs being protected by mail chausses, and over all is a long surcote, confined round the waist by a cingulum, attached to which, at the back, is the transverse sword-belt. This attachment of the sword-belt to the cingulum prevented the former from slipping over the hips, and it continued in fashion, with modifications, until the establishment of the horizontal baudric.

At Castle Ashby is the Purbeck marble effigy of Sir David de Esseby, died before 1268. This differs from the representation of De Vere in having the mail hood distinct from the hauberk—a convenient improvement which relieved the head from the great weight of the body-garment. The figure is almost identical with that of William Longespée the younger, at Salisbury, also in Purbeck marble, who was killed at Mansoura, in Egypt, together with his standard-bearer, De Vere. These effigies give us a good idea of the appearance of the military dress of the fateful period which culminated at Evesham in 1265. The like information as to armour is supplied by the admirable Purbeck effigies of Sir Gerard de L'Isle, about 1287, at Stowe Nine Churches, and that of Sir William de Goldingham, 1296, at Rushton.

In these later figures we get the more voluminous surcote—a fashion which continued until some years into the fourteenth century, when, among other inconveniences, men suddenly dismounted on the field were apt to get their legs entangled in the ample folds, and fell an easy prey to the enemy.

The freestone effigy of Sir Nicholas de Cogenhoe, 1281, at Cogenhoe, that of Sir John de Verdon, 1296, at Brixworth, in Barnack rag, the effigy in red sandstone to a De Ros, about 1300, at Braunston, and the vigorous freestone figure of Sir John de Lyons, 1312, at Warkworth, show the varieties in the form of the surcote, and all mark the gradual alteration in the method of attaching the sword to its belt before the advent of the locketted scabbards. All the preceding figures, except that of de Lyons, whose hands are bare, exhibit the mail mufflers continuous with the sleeve of the hauberk. Out of these the hand could be passed through a hole in the palm, to be laced up after the immemorial manner still practised by Asiatics.

One more Purbeck effigy, and that the most interesting in the county, completes the group of military figures in that material. This is the memorial of Sir Robert de Keynes, 1305, at Dodford, placed upon a low altar-tomb formed of five plain slabs of polished Purbeck marble, the whole forming a unique and striking monument. The man is shown in a hauberk, hood, and chausses of banded mail. He wears a cervelière and a short surcote, and carries a kite-shaped shield—a remarkable reversion to the Norman form as depicted in the stitch-work at Bayeux. This very curious figure, which had been broken into three parts, was most carefully put together fifty years ago by the late Sir Henry Dryden, to whose untiring and lifelong zeal antiquaries at large, and those in his own county in particular, are so greatly indebted. Before quitting the Purbeck and the earlier military effigies, it may be stated that the condition of sculpture at that period, and, in fact, up to and far into the sixteenth century, leaves no doubt that portraiture had the smallest place in the minds of the artists. This is a difficult and intricate subject that can only be alluded to here.[1]

[1] See *Portraiture in Monumental Effigies* and *Ancient Schools of Sculpture in England*, by Albert Hartshorne.

The lone lady, a De Bernak, about 1300, at Barnack, is an excellent example of costume in the famous local stone, and the earliest effigy of a lady in the county, save, perhaps, that of Scholastica de Gayton. Diminutive effigies of children are so rare that the rude presentment of Mabila de Murdak, about 1310, at Gayton, may be mentioned. The inscription runs:—

Hic jacet in tumba Mabila filia Thome de . . .

the last word having been effaced. It appears that Juliana de Murdak, daughter and co-heir of Philip de Gayton, and Scholastica, his wife, murdered her husband, Thomas, and was burnt at the stake. This untoward incident may account for the mutilation of the child's name. That of Margaret, Dame de Lyons, is the first instance of the lady's effigy placed next her husband.

With regard to the important group of wooden effigies, that of Philip de Gayton, 1310, at Gayton, is one of the ten in the county in the stubborn material, seven of which are military figures. De Gayton has been "restored," so no more need be said about him; all have suffered much from decay, and only the lady at Woodford and the lady at Dodford show remains of their former rich decoration. Sir Philip Le Lou, living, 1315, at Ashton, is in a melancholy state of decay, as is also the figure of Sir William de Combemartin, 1318, at Alderton, and that of Hawise de Keynes, living, 1329, at Dodford. The effigies of Sir Walter Treylli, 1290, and Eleanor, his wife, 1316 (who set up the monument), have much artistic merit, that of the lady having additional interest from the delicate decoration still remaining in the deep folds of her drapery. Sir Laurence de Paveley, living 1329, and his wife, at Paulerspury, are of great value. The man wears a fluted bascinet, a sleeved haketon, and a short-sleeved cyclas, a development of the ancient surcote, and one of the fourteen examples in England. The lady is exhibited by a figure with much artistic merit. Those of Sir Thomas le

Latymer, 1334, at Braybrooke, of strange proportion, owing to the narrowness of the block from which it has been cut, and Sir John de Pateshull, 1350, at Cold Higham, have also suffered from decay. All the men are shown cross-legged; it is, perhaps, hardly necessary to repeat that this attitude is a mere English conventionality, and has nothing whatever to do with the Crusades.

Returning now to the chronological line. The stone effigy of Scholastica, wife of Sir Philip de Gayton, living 1284, is a good example, very often shown, of the costume of ladies of her time, namely, a gown and a mantle fastened by a cord held in the left hand. Queen Eleanor is so presented in latten in the Abbey. It is not improbable that this figure is the work of Alexander of Abington, or William of Ireland, the sculptors of the four statues of the Queen on the cross near Northampton. The effigy of Maud Holand at Woodford Halse, about 1330, is an excellent example. An important, though sadly defaced figure, is that of the Forester, about 1330, at Glinton, wearing a horn, and carrying a quiver and a bow. A second instance of a cyclas is shown in the stone effigy of Sir William de Hinton, living 1346, at Hinton-in-the-Hedges, lying by the side of the uncouth figure of his wife. A third example of a cyclas occurs on the clunch effigy—perhaps the finest of its period in England—of Sir John de Lyons, living 1346, at Warkworth. Every detail of the rich harness has received the sculptor's careful attention, lions and lions' faces being appropriately brought into the decoration, and the high interest of this memorial is enhanced by the heraldry on the tomb.

We now enter the alabaster period. A long artistic vista opens with the earliest effigy in this material, and one of the greatest beauty—that of John of Eltham, 1334, in the Abbey. But the use of alabaster brought about retrogression in monumental art, by doing away with the delicate painted decorations upon *gesso* on stone and wooden effigies of the end of the thirteenth and the first thirty

years of the fourteenth century. It surrendered with such facility to the chisel that a kind of *furore* set in for representations in alabaster of knights in the armour of the latter part of the fourteenth century, of the bascinet, camail, and jupon type, familiar to everyone from the latten effigy of the Black Prince. There was not, nor could there be, save in very special cases, portraiture, but there was perfect accuracy in arming details, and in costume, as far as the material allowed, the sculptors being as familiar with the glittering steel, the mail, and the heraldry on the jupons and the tabards as with their own simple garb. These alabaster models soon spread from the workshops in Derbyshire all over England, and though there arose a reaction about 1418 in favour of brasses, the fashion again reverted to the use of the popular and easily-worked stone, and its employment never again died out until the middle of the seventeenth century, and then only because the quarries no longer yielded proper stone.

The alabaster effigies in Northamptonshire amount to fifty in number, ranging from 1365 to 1629. The earliest is that of Sir John de Herteshull, at Ashton, died before 1365. This is a typical example. The cyclas has now, in its turn, developed into the jupon, and the transverse sword-belt is replaced by the horizontal baudric. This knightly attribute, introduced about 1335, disappeared and re-appeared, and finally vanished when the tassets and tuiles were established. A notable alabaster effigy is that of Sir John Swinford, 1371, at Spratton, a massive and martial figure, shown in bascinet, camail, jupon, and baudric. He wears a collar of SS., which seems to be the earliest sculptured example in England. There is no question as to the precise date and subject of the effigy, and it would, therefore, appear that the decoration was an established livery collar when Henry of Lancaster was yet a boy, since he was not born until 1360. This at once disposes of the favourite conjecture that the SS. collar was first devised by Henry IV. when he was Earl of Derby in allusion to

the motto "Souverayne." An alabaster effigy at Orlingbury, about 1375, to an unknown man, is of just the same type as those at Ashton and Spratton, only more tenderly sculptured. On the front of the bascinet is inscribed: **ihc nazani**, and at the sides **miserere mei deus secundum** —the first four words of the Penitential Psalm li.

An exception to the alabaster fashion is the excellent clunch effigy of Sir John de Wittelbury, about 1410, at Marholm. The camail does not appear, but a bavière and a deep plate gorget is shown. On the bascinet is a jewelled and leafy orle of a pattern that was very common on effigies of the time. Pallets are worn, gauntlets with gadlings, and crimped spur straps. A collar of SS. shows the wearer's attachment in some condition to the person of the King. It is a very interesting suit of armour.

The alabaster effigy of Ralph Greene, 1419, at Lowick, varies but little from that just mentioned, and the armour has just that amount of difference in its details as is to be expected in the interpretations of well-known forms of defensive armour by the chisel of a different artist working in a more facile material. Greene wears a gorget and a mentonière as well as a camail under it. He has withdrawn his right gauntlet, and clasps in effigy the hand of the faithful Katherine "gisant en sa surcote overte" on his right side. She wears, besides the mantle or "surcote," a tight-sleeved gown and a cote hardi. The head-dress, supported by two angels, is very remarkable, the hair being widely displayed on either side over pads and under a net; a long veil falls behind, and this is surmounted by a heavy coronal, more than twice the size of and with the same details as the orle on her husband's bascinet, and which again repeats the pattern of that worn by De Wittelbury. The great importance of this monument consists in the original contract for it being preserved and printed among the Drayton evidences in that rare volume, "Halstead's Genealogies." The agreement was made between Katherine Greene and two others, the executors, with

Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton, "kervers" of Chellaston, Derbyshire. It is required that the tomb shall sustain "deux images d'alabastre, l'un countrefait à un Esquier en Armes en toutz pointz," and "l'autre image sera countrefait à une dame gisant en sa surcote overte." There is not a suggestion that portraiture shall be considered, not a word to the effect that the two figures shall be presented—"come ils estaient en lour vivants." Indeed, several effigies by the same hand and with exactly the same countenances could be pointed out. The effigy of Sir Edmund de Thorpe, Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk, who died a year earlier than Ralph Greene, and that of his wife Joan, resemble in a remarkable manner, both as regards countenances, armour, and costume, the two effigies at Lowick. They are all undoubtedly the work of the same sculptor, and entirely conventional representations. The man accordingly appears as an armed man *quelconque*, the armour accurately depicted; and similarly the effigy of the lady is no more than a careful type of the costume of a gentlewoman of the day.

A quarter of a century may now be partially bridged over by reference to several military brasses between the time of Ralph Greene and the effigy next following him in order of date. Thus we have Sir John Chetwode, 1412, at Warkworth; John Cressy, 1414, Dodford; Matthew Swetenham, 1416, Blakesley—"Portitor Arcus"; John Fossebroke, 1418, Cranford—husband of Maud, "sicca nutrix" to Henry VI.; John Chetwode, 1420, Warkworth; William Wylde, 1422, Dodford; and William Harwedon, 1433, at Great Harroden.[1] A further decade brings us

[1] At Ashby St. Legers is a rhyming inscription to Sir William Catesby, "unus trencheatorum" to Henry VI. about 1475. It is perhaps not generally known that the instruments of the king's carvers were in pairs—the "carver" and the "server," the smaller knife being used to place the meat on the large slice of bread placed before each person. This was the *tranchée*, the forerunner of the wooden trencher. The procedure was for the man to eat his meat with his baselard, or personal knife, and with the assistance of his fingers. He then eat his trencher bread, drank his "livery" of wine, or ale, and the rite was concluded. At Iver, Buckinghamshire, is a wall monument to two members of the Salter family, carvers in ordinary to James I. and Charles I.

to a complete change of armour since Greene's time, and we now have an alabaster effigy in memory of a notable county worthy of ancient days—Sir John Cressy, 1444, at Dodford.

This is a remarkable memorial with much curious detail in the armour, which has quite changed since the time of Ralph Greene. The inscription round the verge of the tomb runs as follows:—

Hic jacet Johēs Cressy miles d'nus isti ville quondam capitani de Lyeieux Orbef et Pontleueque in Normādia ac cōciliari dñi regis in Francia qui obiit apud Tove in Loirina iiii° die marcii anno dni m° cccc xliii cui anie ppicietur deus. Amen.

He wears a cuirass à emboîtement, tassets, and tuiles, and a rich collar of SS. with two buckles. The tomb is panelled and formally spaced out by rows of rigid angels holding shields of arms, alternating with precise weepers—a graceful grave in which one would wish to think that "after life's fitful fever he sleeps well," though, under the circumstances of his death, that can hardly be.

A melancholy and humiliating chapter is opened when the monuments of the Greenes at Green's Norton are considered, for their wicked destruction in 1826 is one of the saddest passages of Northamptonshire history. At the present day all that remain are the broken alabaster effigies of the third of the six Sir Thomas Greenes, 1457, once showing a refined fluted suit, and that of his wife, Philippa Ferrers, of Chartley. Both figures wear the collar of SS., the lady appearing in mitre head-dress and mantle. A half life-size alabaster effigy at Apethorpe, about 1475, shows a man in armour and a tabard, with the flap sleeves. Above the head, which rests as usual on the helm, is a rare feature—the sculptured representation of the crowning of the Virgin. The refined alabaster effigy of Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, 1499, showing a delicately sculptured tabard of eight quarters and "my

Collar of the King's Livery"—only ordered in the will as "a convenient tomb"—fittingly closes the knightly effigies of the century.

Of monuments of special interest of the sixteenth century, the alabaster effigy of Sir Henry Vere, 1516, at Great Addington—the "Picter insolid" of his will—has interest as doubtless representing the harness in which he fought on Bosworth Field in 1485. The clunch effigies of Sir John Spencer, 1522, and his wife, Isabel, at Great Brington, have much value from their careful execution and fine condition. These are the earliest portrait effigies in the county, and the first of four pairs of stone effigies of the highest interest from the armour and costume, the manifold heraldry, and the rich late Gothic, and the coloured marble and painted Renaissance canopied tombs. In addition is the stately black and white marble canopied monument, with Corinthian details and white marble effigies, by Nicholas Stone, of William, Lord Spencer, 1636, and Penelope, his wife, both shown in State robes.

Of other monuments of the Renaissance period we have Sir Richard Knightley, 1534, and Joan, his wife, at Fawsley, in alabaster; the knight wearing a collar of SS. and tabard of twelve quarters. Lord Parr, 1546, with his patriarchal beard, and Lady Parr, at Horton, admirably represent in alabaster the armour of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and the splendid and peculiar ladies' costume of the time. No doubt, all these effigies are portraits, as at Brington. On the other hand, the rare alabaster figure of Sir Thomas Tresham, 1559, at Rushton, showing him in the mantle of a Hospitaller, and those of Sir Thomas Andrew, 1564, and his two wives, at Charwelton, though not portraits, have both merit and interest. The figures of Sir William Chauncy, 1585, and his wife, Joan; and his son, Toby, 1607, and his two wives, at Edgecote, are not far removed from the grotesque, and very much so from likenesses.

On the other hand, again, the effigy of Lord Burghley,

The Honourable Dame Elizabeth Carey, Stowe Nine Churches.

1599, at Stamford, in alabaster, gives a striking portrait of the great statesman on his stately canopied tomb; as do also the clunch effigy of Sir William Fitzwilliam, 1599, and his wife, Ann, at Marholm; that of Lady Elizabeth Knightley, 1602, at Norton, fourth daughter of the Protector Somerset; the effigies of Sir George Fermor, 1612, and Mary, his wife, at Easton Neston; those of William, Lord Russell, of Thornhaugh, 1613, at Thornhaugh; Sir John Nedham, 1616, at Lichborough; Sir Anthony Mildmay, 1617, and his wife, Mary, at Apethorpe; and Sir Arthur Throckmorton, 1626, and Ann, his wife, at Paulerspury—all these form a long series of portrait statues in alabaster, and are associated, of course, with more or less interesting Renaissance tombs. The masterpiece of Nicholas Stone—the marble effigy of Dame Elizabeth Carey, 1630, at Stowe Nine Churches—appeals specially to the enquirer into the revival of English sculpture. It was set up in 1619 under Lady Carey's direction, the black and white marble tomb exhibiting many heraldic coats.

The marble effigy of Sir John Langham, 1671, and Mary, his wife, Cottesbrook, apparently from the hand of John Stone, are also careful portraits. Finally, the marble reclining figures of Sir John Germaine, 1718, and his wife, Lady Mary Mordaunt, at Lowick—good examples of a bad style, of the *dégringolade* of monumental art—are probably the work of Francis Bird, a greatly abused and industrious sculptor, much employed, for want of a better, by Sir Christopher Wren, at St. Paul's.

In touching upon the ecclesiastical effigies of the county, the six abbatical figures at Peterborough naturally first claim attention. In some respects, they may be compared with the early memorials of the abbots at Westminster; and though they are not of so stately a character as the episcopal effigies at Wells, and the monuments of the great churchmen at York, and do not occupy original positions like the prelatical figures at Rochester—for in this

respect they have shared the fate of the Salisbury and Worcester effigies—they must be regarded as the most valuable series of early abbatical statues in England. All, with the exception of the latest, are carved in Purbeck marble, and are, of course, shown in the usual ecclesiastical vestments—alb, chasuble, amice, stole, and maniple; all, save the latest, bear the pastoral staff in the right hand, and the book of the Gospels in the left; three trample upon dragons, and three of the effigies appear to have formed coffin-lids and to have been originally placed—like that of King John between St. Oswald and St. Wulstan at Worcester—level with the pavement, and used for that purpose. The earlier of these memorials date from the death of Abbot Benedict, in 1193, to that of Richard de London in 1295. The first mitred abbot was William Genge, elected in 1396, and from his time to that of Robert Kirton, 1528, forty-fourth and last abbot but one—who is represented by an effigy in clunch—it is recorded that all the rulers of the great Benedictine house had brasses for their monuments, all of which were despoiled in 1643. The second figure in order of date, Robert de Lyndeseye, 1222, appears to have been bearded, and similarly of the third in chronological order, Walter de St. Edmund, 1245. This effigy shows the parure or apparel of the alb, and a pendant ornament or weight to keep in place or steady the chasuble at its lowest point. John de Caleto, 1262, the fourth in respect of age, is shown with a deep apparel to the alb, and the chasuble richly embroidered about the rationale. Two angels support the head and steady themselves by unexpectedly grasping the abbot by the ears! The fifth effigy in order of time, Richard de London, 1295, is a conspicuous, though mutilated, example of free carving in an intractable material. The clunch effigy of Robert Kirton, 1528, completes the Peterborough series.

Between the years 1295 and 1528, effigies of priests in ecclesiastical vestments are only represented by the stone figure of John de Ardele, about 1350, at Aston le Walls;

by that in alabaster at Yelvertoft, 1445, of John Dyeson, shown in a dalmatic—a very unusual vestment for a simple priest; and by the effigy of Archdeacon Sponne, 1448, at Towcester. This is a double monument of the usual kind—to which, of course, the usual foolish fasting fable is attached—in which the "lively picture of death" reposes beneath the upper slab sustaining the effigy proper. The interest of this monument consists in the archdeacon being shown as attired in the choir habit of a collegiate or conventual foundation. He was a great benefactor to the town of Towcester. In 1883, at the "restoration" of the church, the painted effigy, of which the head and hands were of oak, and original, was "denudated," it was decapitated, and a new and gross stone head, with the flowing locks of a civilian, of a period at least a century earlier, put in its place. Thus is history written backwards by the process of "restoration."

Again, the considerable blank may be bridged over by reference to the ecclesiastical brasses of Laurence de Saint Maur, 1337, at Higham Ferrers; a demi-priest on a bracket at Great Brington, about 1340; William de Rothewelle, 1361, in a cope, at Rothwell; William Ermyn, 1401, also wearing a cope, at Castle Ashby; Robert Wyntryngham, provost of the chantry, 1420, in a cope, at Cotterstock; William Hewett, 1426, at Newton Bromswold; John Colt, 1440, at Tansor; William Smarte, 1468, at Chipping Warden; Roger Hewett, about 1487, at Newton Bromswold; Henry Denton, 1498, at Higham Ferrers; and Sir Henry Mylnar, 1512, at Paulerspury.

With regard to legal dignitaries, all fall into the Renaissance period. We have at Deene the alabaster effigies of Chief Justice Sir Robert Brudenell, 1531, and his two wives. He wears precisely the same costume, with the exception of the head-gear, as is seen on the bench at the present day. These figures are not portraits. That of the Chief Justices Sir Edward Montagu, 1557, at Weekley; Sir Christopher Yelverton, 1612, and his son,

Sir Henry Yelverton, 1629, at Easton Mauduit, are similarly habited, the two latter effigies being very like the existing painted portraits. The white marble figure of Sir Thomas Crewe, 1633, King's Sergeant, and Speaker of the Commons, at Steane, is a careful portrait and, together with that of Temperance, his wife, are from the hand of Nicholas Stone.

A few unimportant figures: The early demi-effigy of "Vergilius persona seu rector," 1228, at Caistor; the dishonoured block once representing Peter de Bernak, at Barnack; a lady of the Wale family, about 1340, at Eydon; the dismembered Pyels and Dame Elizabeth Cheyne, at Irthlingborough; the two battered Watsons, 1616, at Rockingham; and Lord Dundalk and his wife, 1634, at Maidwell, complete the monumental effigies of Northamptonshire.

ALBERT HARTSHORNE.

The Washington House, Sulgrave.

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE HOMES OF GEORGE WASHINGTON'S ANCESTORS.

THE founder of the Northamptonshire branch of the Washingtons was one Lawrence Washington, a member of a family long settled at Whitfield and Warton in Lancashire. He was a member of Gray's Inn, and came to settle in Northampton, of which he became Mayor in 1533 and 1546. Possibly he was led to settle in that town by his having become, by marriage, a first cousin of the then Sir John Spencer, of Althorp. At the dissolution of the monasteries, the Manor of Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire, was granted to him in 1538. He began building a suitable house, of which all that remains is a small building, situated amidst the rustic surroundings of field and farmyard, at one end of the village. It is built of local limestone, with the roof of stone slates, probably from the neighbouring parish of Helmdon. Not one of the chimneys now remaining is likely to be original, though the east group of three is built of old bricks; and one chimney on the north wing is of stone, in the ordinary Northamptonshire style of building. Mellowed by time, and covered with lichen, the old house is now of a dull greyish tint all over, but on a bright spring morning, with the fruit trees in blossom, the white pigeons cooing around, and the lambs gambolling in the field, it forms indeed a pleasing picture in the midst of rural England.

The entrance to the hall remains complete, with the gable over it. It has a Tudor arch under a square label, and in

the two spandrels are the Washington arms: argent, two bars gules, in chief three mullets of the second. Over the entrance is a defaced plaster shield, and over that the Royal Arms, some embossed work, and E.R. (Elizabetha Regina) all in plaster work. The door opens into what was the porch, where, on either side in the wall, is a carved beast, apparently the lion and griffin or dragon of the Royal supporters, similar to those over the entrance. The door with its jambs, from the porch to "the screens," has been removed; and no traces of the screen remain, but nearly in its place is built a modern partition wall, to divide off a good sitting-room. Across the stone-flagged floor from the porch is the door into the old back court; not the original door, the present one being in the style of about 1700, and to the east of the former doorway. The hall had, as at present, a ceiling, with rooms overhead. The original oak beams are to be seen in the sitting-room, where the mutilated remains of the fireplace arch and mantelpiece surround a very modern grate. The stone mullions of the window looking to the front have been removed, simple wooden ones having taken their place.

The house has an old oak staircase with twisted balusters, some quaint rooms with panelling, cupboards, and recesses, deep window-seats and leaded window-panes, but there is little that suggests the large scale on which the original Lawrence Washington arranged and partly built his mansion. Until about 1830, some coloured glass heraldic shields, showing the arms and alliances of the family, ornamented the kitchen window, which had been removed there from the part of the house taken down about the middle of the seventeenth century. They have all gone from the house; two have passed into Lady Hanmer's possession at Weston Hall, and six are in the windows of Fawsley Church.

Leaving the house, passing through the quiet old village by two or three well-built stone houses of the seventeenth

century, the village green is reached, bounding one side of the churchyard. The church is not striking, but is built of good stone in the Perpendicular style. In the south aisle, in the floor, are the battered remains of the brass that Lawrence Washington (the first owner) placed in the church. A figure of himself in his fur-bordered gown, now without a head, and his shield of arms and inscription, are left; the wife's figure was long since wrenched away, and the two sets of children were stolen a few years ago. The shield was formerly enamelled, but all traces of the colour have now disappeared. The inscription runs as follows:—

Here lyeth buried ye bodys of Laurence Washington
Gent & Amee his
wyf by whome he had issue iiij sons and vij daughts wch
Laurence Dyed ye day of
ano 15 & Amee deceassed the vj of
October ano Dñi 1564.

The space which Lawrence Washington left for the date of his own death (which occurred in 1584) was never filled up. A modern copy of the inscription was placed a few years ago under the south-east window, near the brass, by the descendants of the English Washingtons. There are none of the name left now in Northamptonshire.

Failing fortunes appear to have prevented the family from completing the Sulgrave house on the original scale, and to have forced them to sell the Manor of Sulgrave in 1610, and migrate to Brington, about six miles from Northampton, where they were provided with a house by their kinsmen, the Spencers of Althorp. By the parish registers it would appear that Lawrence had moved to Brington before 1606-7, when there occur entries of his seventh son, Gregory, being both baptized and buried.

The Washington house at Little Brington is still standing. In it the second Lawrence Washington

(grandson of the Mayor) probably lived till his death in 1616, when he was buried in Brington Church. In it would have lived with him his son, Lawrence Washington, afterwards Rector of Purleigh (great-grandson of the first Lawrence Washington, of Sulgrave), father of the John Washington who (accompanied or followed by a younger brother, Lawrence) emigrated to Virginia in 1657, and who was the great-grandfather of the first President of the United States.

The house stands on the roadside, and, though now a humble tenement, bears traces of being originally built for better use. It has more internal accommodation than would appear from the outside, and some of the massive oak beams and old panelling and flooring remain intact through many alterations. Outside, the mullioned windows have been lately restored. On a stone, over the doorway, is carved the inscription:—

THE LORD GEVETH,
THE LORD TAKETH
AWAY. BLESSED BE THE
NAME OF THE LORD.
CONSTRVCTA
1606.

Is it possible the house was built for the impoverished Washingtons by their rich kinsmen, and the inscription applies to their pious resignation under ill-fortune?

That the two brothers, Robert and Lawrence, lived at Brington is likely, from an entry in the Althorp grain book:—"1610, Oct. 10. After this week Robert Washington did take the windmill of me." Both are buried in Great Brington Church. Robert died childless, but Lawrence left several children besides the Rector of Purleigh, some of whom married into other county families and left descendants.

There are many allusions in the household books of Althorp to the Washingtons as guests. In September,

1623, an entry records two pecks of oats given to the horses of Sir John, and of Mr. Lawrence Washington who a year before had been bequeathed the famous seal ring that found its way to Virginia, and sealed the title of General Washington's birthplace; it was his uncle Robert's, and left to him by the Elizabeth whose tombstone is in Brington Church. In the nave, on a slab with the Washington arms, is a brass plate with the following inscription:—

HERE LIES INTERRED Y^E BODIES OF ELIZAB. WASHINGTON WIDDOWE WHO CHANGED THIS LIFE FOR IMORTALLITIE Y^E 19^H OF MARCH 1622. AS ALSO Y^E BODY OF ROBERT WASHINGTON GENT. HER LATE HUSBAND SECOND SONNE OF ROBERT WASHINGTON OF SOLGRAVE, IN Y^E COUNTY OF NORTH. ESQ. WHO DEPTED THIS LIFE Y^E 10^TH OF MARCH 1622 AFTER THEY LIVED LOVINGLY TOGETHER [MANY YEARES IN THIS PARISH].

On another slab are the Washington arms impaling Butler, and the following inscription:—

HERE LIETH THE BODI OF LAVRENCE
WASHINGTON SONNE AND HEIRE OF
ROBERT WASHINGTON OF SOVLGRAVE
IN THE COVNTIE OF NORTHAMPTON
[ESQUIER WHO MARRIED MARGARET]
THE ELDEST DAUGHTER OF WILLIAM
BUTLER OF TEES IN THE COVNTIE
OF SUSSEXE, ESQUIER, WHO HAD ISSU
BY HER 8 SONNS AND 9 DAUGHTERS
WHICH LAVRENCE DECEASED THE 13
OF DEC. A.DNI. 1616.

THOU THAT BY CHANCE OR CHOYCE
OF THIS HAST SIGHT
KNOW LIFE TO DEATH RESIGNES
AS DAY TO NIGHT;
BUT AS THE SUNNS RETORNE
REVIVES THE DAYE
SO CHRIST SHALL US
THOVGH TVRNED TO DVST AND CLAY.

Of the Rev. Lawrence Washington's connections with Northamptonshire there are no later traces than the above mention in 1623.

In the remains of George Washington's ancestral homes at Sulgrave and Brington we have an indissoluble link between the two great English-speaking nations of the world; a link with an old historic past that the younger nation has grown to appreciate, and even set us the example in valuing precious memorials that we have often neglected too long.

It is an old story that the Stars and Stripes of the United States flag derived their origin from the mullets and bars of the Washington arms. This, however, is improbable, and what evidence we have rather points another way. The old tale was to the effect that Washington called on a Mrs. John Ross, who took in sewing, and asked her to make a flag for the new colonies, describing his idea of the stars and stripes to correspond with the thirteen States in number. It is another myth that the spread eagle was derived from his crest, as the crest which he and his immediate ancestors bore was a raven's head, and he describes in a letter to Sir Isaac Heard as the only two family crests known to him—the raven's head and a griffin, so that he was unaware that the early crest of the Washingtons had been an eagle. The coincidence is remarkable, as in the only flag known to have been designed by Washington himself (which did not at all resemble the stars and stripes) a spread eagle appears holding a shield; this was designed for his Life Guard before any national flag was decided on. At what time the eagle became the American emblem is uncertain, but it was unquestionably taken from ancient Rome, like the word "Senate."

The only national flag Washington is known to have suggested was that of Massachusetts, which was a green pine tree on a white field. The different colonies had long

had different banners, and it was in 1775 that Washington wrote to an influential friend suggesting the flag of Massachusetts as a suitable one to take for the united colonies.

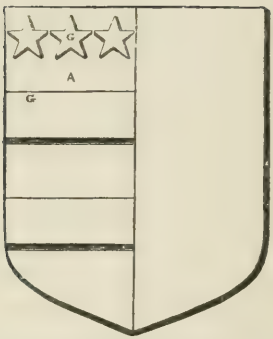
It appears that Washington did once raise a flag of thirteen stripes, for a momentary purpose, in this way. After the Union was decided on, wishing to apprise the English of the fact, he pasted across the red field of an English flag thirteen lists of cotton cloth, representing the thirteen colonies, and ordered it to be raised within telescopic view of the British in Boston, January 2nd, 1776, and saluted by thirteen guns.

This idea of stripes was not, however, Washington's own origination, as in the old picture of the Battle of Bunker's Hill, 1775, the British Union flag displayed by a ship has vertical stripes. Moreover, the chief point to be noted is that the British colonial flag of the East India Company, which had established Manhattan (New York) as a trading port, had six white bars on a red field (making thirteen "stripes" alternate red and white), with St. George's cross on a white canton. Substitute the stars for the English St. George's cross in the canton, and you have the American flag. This seems a much more natural solution than the bars of the Washington arms. The origin of the stars being chosen is not so apparent, but they were meant, as Congress said, to represent a new constellation, and were originally in a circle, not horizontal, as in the Washington arms. It was on June 14th, 1777, that Congress resolved:—"That the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a field of blue, representing a new constellation." The first flag woven was raised by Washington at the battle of Brandywine, September, 1777. Afterwards a star has been added for every State entering the Union, till they now number forty-five. It is very unlikely that Congress would have known the arms of Washington, and any recognition of aristocratic dignity

in that period of Republican fervour would certainly not have received approbation.

To one of the British flags, therefore, the origin of the star-spangled banner is most probably due.

ALICE DRYDEN.



THE WASHINGTON ARMS IMPALING A BLANK COAT.

"Plot-Room" over the Gatehouse, Ashby St. Ledgers.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

THE County of Northampton plays a prominent part in the Gunpowder Plot, in its conception and discovery by Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham respectively, both hereditary Catholics.

It was in the "Plot Room," with its hiding-place covered by a sliding panel,[1] over the old gatehouse at Ashby St. Ledgers that, as the local tradition runs, Catesby and his fellows had their meetings; and the wainscoted hall of the manor-house is said to be the chamber where Lady Catesby was about to sup, when Catesby, "bearing with him the assurance that their main plot was bewrayed whereupon they had built the golden mountain of their hopes," sent for Robert Winter into the fields, and willed him to take his horse and come and speak with him, but that he "should not let his mother know of his being there."

Robert Catesby, the head and front of the conspiracy, the owner of large estates in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Oxfordshire, was the lineal descendant of William Catesby, an esquire of the Royal body to Richard III., and son of Sir William Catesby, of Lapworth. He is supposed to have been for a time a scholar at the College of Douay, but was, in 1586, entered at Gloucester Hall—now Worcester College—a house with leanings to the old religion.

A year after his marriage in 1592 he came into the estate

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1 The tradition at Ashby St. Ledgers is that Guy Faukes hid in the plot-room for six weeks before he went up to London for the Gunpowder Plot. He is said to have walked on the old Terrace there at night, and to haunt it now.

of Chastleton; and in 1598, upon the death of his father, he was a man of large means and much larger expectations. In the mad outbreak of the Earl of Essex, Catesby received a wound in a street fray, and was thrown into gaol; but Elizabeth, for once, did not let blood in her anger. Catesby was pardoned, and crippled with a fine of 4,000 marks, which compelled him to sell the Chastleton estate, and make his home with his mother at the manor-house of Ashby St. Ledgers.

Not content with this check, and throwing caution to the winds, he brought himself so much under the notice of the government that he was probably under arrest on the accession of James I. He was then in his thirtieth year, a person "above two yards high," and with a notably beautiful face; one of the 'chiefe gallants of the time,'[1] and 'so liberal and apt to help of all sorts, as it got him much love,'" and guilty, withal, of excess of play and apparel.

To Catesby, and among the Catholics of the day, it was a received opinion that Elizabeth was the last in expectance to run violent courses against the Catholics, and that James would at least be free from persecution, "in accordance with his promises that he would take no soul-money nor blood."[2]

To the Protestants, upon the other hand, religious toleration appeared incompatible with the independent national organization which centred in the crown; and to statesmen, the Catholics were to be crippled as an arm of the firm central organization of Rome. Cranbourne's object, as reported by Molin to the Doge in 1605, was undoubtedly to extinguish the Catholic religion in this kingdom, "because we do not think it fit, in a well-governed country, to increase the number of persons who profess to depend on the will of other princes as the Catholics do." As the minister, so the King. James differed from his

[1] Account of the Earl of Essex's treason, Vol. III., page 544, of Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.*

[2] Sir Everard Digby to Salisbury (*S.P. Dom.* xvii. 10).

minister only in that he wished to check the growth of the old religion by purging away the priests, rather than by bearing heavily upon the laity.

So, in July, 1603, after the King had arrived in London, recusants of quality were sent for to Hampton Court, and assured by the Privy Council of his royal good-will, "so long as they kept themselves upright and civil in all true carriage towards the king and state without contempt." As an earnest from the King, the £20 fine paid by a small number of wealthy recusants in the late reign, and the greater part of the two-thirds of the rents of convicted recusants, were no longer required.

This idyllic state of things, this golden time for the Roman Catholics, could not long continue. A census of recusants showed their numbers very considerably increased since the King's accession—from the point of view of an Elizabethan statesman, a grave political danger. James, hard pressed by his councillors, fell back upon a characteristic compromise, and on February 22nd, 1604, was issued a proclamation for the banishment of priests.[1]

Not many days after, and before any step had been taken to enforce the penal laws upon the laity, Winter was summoned to London by his cousin Catesby at the beginning of Lent, and informed of the plot as being actually in existence. Though amazed at "the strangeness of the conceit," and fearing a mis-carriage, Winter was drawn by Catesby's dominant influence to set his life upon the cast, but first left England early in April for the Netherlands upon an errand to the Constable of Castile. Returning with nothing but goodwill and good words on the part of

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1 "It is for preventing of their multiplying, and new set up empire, that I long to see the execution of the last edict against them; not that thereby I wish to have their heads divided from their bodies, but that I would be glad to have both heads and bodies separated from this whole island and safely transported beyond seas, where they may freely glut upon their imaginated gods."

[A letter written in the Spring of 1602. Correspondence of King James VI. with Sir Robert Cecil.]

Spain, but no promise that the relief of the English Catholics should be stipulated for in the treaty of peace in progress, he brought with him a soldier from the Low Countries, Guido Faukes; and shortly afterwards, with Catesby, Percy, and John Wright, "a strong, stout man, and a very good wit, though slow of speech," they took an oath of secrecy, kneeling down upon their knees, with their hands laid upon a primer, and afterwards, in another room, received the Sacrament upon their vow from a priest who was not admitted to their council.

Of the lawfulness of his mine, Catesby appears to have had no more doubt than of the defensibility of mine and counter-mine in the Low Countries, with its necessary accompaniment "the killing of nocents and innocents." When he girded on his sword, he took care to have that sword engraved "with the Passion of our Lord," and honestly believed he was entering upon a holy war, in which, "whilst kingdoms stood in hostility, hostile actions are holden honourable and just." Something of this security he seems to have imparted to his fellows.

During Winter's absence in the Netherlands, Catesby had found a house, conveniently near the "Parliament House," which with some difficulty was rented in Percy's name, from one Ferris, a tenant to Whynniard, the Keeper of the King's Wardrobe; and Faukes, in the name of Percy's man, calling himself Johnson, received the keys of it. Soon afterwards, Parliament was adjourned to the 7th of February, and the conspirators resolved to scatter into the country, to meet again at the beginning of the Michaelmas Term. In the interval, a house was taken at Lambeth, at which provision of powder and wood for the mine might be made ready in small quantities at a time, and conveyed by night, by the "silent highway" of the Thames, to the house of the mine, which they were "loth to foil" with often going in and out. The keeper of the Lambeth house was chosen by Catesby—Robert Keyes, "a trusty, honest man."

From the summer of this year until the mine was begun, on the 11th of December, the confederacy was bound together and cemented by the pressure upon the Catholics, both clergy and laity. The King's consent was given in July to a new Recusancy Act, and in spite of the assurance given by the Council the previous year, it was determined that the fines for recusancy[1] should be levied[2] from the thirteen Catholics rich enough to pay the fine of £20 a month.

It was in December that they were first able to take in hand their extraordinary scheme.[3] The five entered the house by night, with mining tools, and having provided themselves with baked meats, remained unseen, not one of them but Faukes in his porter's frock shewing himself in the upper part of the house until Christmas Eve, at which time they had wrought under a little entry to the wall of the Parliament House, and underpropped it as they went with wood, directed no doubt by Faukes, who for eight years had been in the service of the Archduke in the Low Countries—the most complete school of military mining then to be found in the world.

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1 November 28th, 1604.

2 Later, on February 10th, 1605—a few days after the plotters had got halfway through the wall of the House of Lords—James announced his resolution that the penal laws should be put into execution (S. R. Gardiner). The Chancellor charged the judges that the Recusancy Act should be fully executed at the ensuing assizes, only taking care to shed no blood.

3 "The cause was for that the Scottish Lords were appointed to sit in Conference on the union in Mr. Percy's house. This hindered our beginning until a fortnight before Christmas."—*Thos. Winter's Confession.*

The genuineness of Winter's confession has recently been disputed by Father Gerard, S.J., whose principal arguments are—(1) That the confession is signed Winter, not *Wintour*, as in all other acknowledged signatures; (2) that the confession is extensively amended, and contains instances of "parablepsy."

The difficulty of the signature is admitted by Mr. S. R. Gardiner. The emendations are, however, unimportant corrections of *style*, in no way inconsistent with the authenticity of the document, as Father Gerard (p. 11, *Thomas Winter's Confession and the Gunpowder Plot*) writes; Winter himself might naturally alter and add, as he went along, especially as his letters show him to have been in the habit of doing so.

The case of parablepsy, on which Father Gerard's argument principally rests, is founded on a mis-reading of the original *tearms* for *reasons*.

On the other hand, the confession, though full of lifelike and

All day long these men, "accustomed to live in ease and delicacy," worked at the mine, and at night the earth was laid out upon the garden of the house, or no doubt—the nights were long and dark—in the river that ran hard by.

Their schemes ripened in their enforced seclusion. Percy, as a gentleman pensioner, was to attend in "Duke Charles'" chamber in the Palace, and carry him safe away when the blow was given; and as for the Lady Elizabeth, it was easy to surprise her in the country by drawing friends together at a hunting near the Lord Harrington's; and Ashby, Mr. Catesby's house, being not far off, was a fit place for preparation. To these single-eyed and most sanguine dreamers, having the heir to the crown (Henry, the Prince of Wales, would accompany the King to the Parliament House), and the first knowledge by four or five days, was odds sufficient. In the middle of these discourses, hearing that Parliament was to be adjourned until after Michaelmas, they broke off their preparations. In their sojourn in the country, John Grant, of Norbrook, and Robert Winter, of Huddington, elder brother of Thomas Winter, were chosen by the unerring instinct of Catesby, and sworn in at Oxford to the plot.

It was in the second fortnight, beginning after the middle of January, when the broad and strong foundations of the House of Lords were attacked, that Christopher, brother of John Wright the master of fence, was sworn in, and Keyes brought over from Lambeth, together with the store

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spontaneous detail, adds nothing to the main outlines of the plot, and without art or over-praise, raises the character of the conspirators in our estimation—a result most improbable in a Government forgery. The confession also lacks the element the Government were most anxious to secure—evidence against the priests. If the confession were a forgery, it was an objectless one; "the original was never brought before the public, and even James seems to have been put off with a copy." If the confession were a forgery, it was a dangerous one; Wood, Sir E. Coke, Salisbury, and all the Commissioners would be implicated, whose names are set down as attesting it in the printed copies, and three of the Commissioners were Catholics or friendly to Catholics (*i.e.*, Worcester, Northampton, Suffolk).

of powder, which they now stored in "a low room, new builded." By Candlemas (February 2nd), they had burrowed through four feet six inches into the wall, after which they again gave up working.

In the latter part of March, as they were working, they heard a rushing noise in the "cellar" above them, which was caused by one Mrs. Skinner[1] selling her coals. Faukes went out to reconnoitre, and learning the cellar was to let, Whynniard was applied to, from whom it was leased, and it was hired in Percy's name for a yearly rent. The mine was abandoned. A quantity of powder was placed in the cellar, and large stones, iron bars, and their mining tools were thrown among the powder "to make the breach the greater," and the whole covered with faggots and billets of wood. The vault was then shut up, and certain marks having been placed upon the door inside, to warn them if it had been tampered with in their absence, they agreed to separate for some months, each going to his own house in the country.

After they parted, Faukes was despatched into Flanders shortly before Easter, and in the early days of September, Sir Edmund Baynham, an intimate of Catesby's, an attainted person, the "Prince of the Damned Crew" (a lawless club), was sent on a mission to Rome, to plead the cause of the conspirators and win the Pope's ear when the blow fell.

The burden of maintaining the house, the outgoing of money for horses, arms, and powder distributed in the houses of the conspirators in the Midlands, and at his mother's home, Ashby St. Ledgers—ostensibly for service in Flanders with the Archduke—now began to weigh heavily upon Catesby's purse, and to lighten this charge, three men of large fortunes were added to the conspiracy —Ambrose Rookwood, of Coldham Hall, in Suffolk, whose stud of fine horses made him a most desirable recruit, and

[1] The widow Skinner afterwards married to Bright, and is so named in Faukes' examination.

Sir Everard Digby, of Drystoke and Pilton, among them. Other gentlemen of the countryside were invited to meet Catesby at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, in November, where he professed to make merry with his friends some three or four days before his final arrangements for the "campaign in Flanders."

To the confederacy was also added its undoing—Francis Tresham, of Rushton, Northamptonshire, a "wylde and unstayed man," who, in 1596, is said by Father Gerard to have been arrested, with Catesby and the two Wrights, during Elizabeth's sickness, to prevent them causing any disturbance in case of her death.

In 1600-1, he became involved, like his cousin Catesby, in Essex's outbreak, to the disgust of his Jesuit advisers, one of whom declared that "if he had had so much witt and discretion as he might have had, he would never have associated himself amongest such a dampnable crewe of heretikes and athistes." For his escapade he was imprisoned in the White Lion, Southwark, and then in the Tower; and his life bought back by a bribe which left his father in penury, as he himself says, for the remainder of his days. Sir Thomas allowed him the use of his manor of Hoggesden, but Francis was not above entering into a conspiracy with one of his father's servants to cheat him about the extent of some lands they were about to exchange.

When the conspirators scattered like hunted animals at the alarm of the discovery, Francis, as if conscious of his services, showed himself openly in the streets, and even offered his services to arrest the rebels. He remained at large until the end of the week after the discovery of the plot, and died "of sickness" in the Tower on December 22nd, when, although he had not been tried, his head, as a traitor's, was cut off and fixed above the gates of Northampton,[1] his body being tumbled into a hole "wthout so much ceremonie as the formallitye of a grave."[2]

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1 *Dom. James I.* xvii. 62.
2 *State Paper Office*, Vol. XVII., No. 60, Jas. I.

A curious feature is the influence on these recruits and confederates of Catesby himself, whom Ambrose Rokewood loved "above any worldly man"; for whom Thomas Winter "in this, or what else soever, if he resolved upon it, would venture his life"; for whom Robert Winter, amazed at the scheme, "for his oath's sake, and for the love he bore to his cousin," would not reveal it; and for whom Sir Edward Digby "was ever contented and ready to hazard himself and his estate." The more singular is this influence upon men of character (for the denunciations of the Attorney-General[1] show them but as the wrong side of the tapestry is able to represent the right), "gentlemen of good houses, of excellent parts, and of very competent fortunes and estates," such as John Grant, a "a man of accomplished manners, and a zealous Catholic"; Ambrose Rokewood, "beloved," says Father Greenway, "by all who knew him"; Thomas Winter, a short man, but "strong, comely, and very valiant,[2] and careful to come often to the Sacraments."

The particulars of the communication of the plot to Tresham are unknown. He at first agreed to furnish £2,000 towards it. Among the Catholic lords to be present in Parliament, however, were the Lords Stourton and Mounteagle, who had married two of his sisters. Tresham, therefore, was "exceeding earnest" that these men should be spared. Catesby, on the other hand, alive to every risk, declared in general that "he made account of the nobility as of atheists, fools and cowards, and that lusty bodies would be better for the commonwealth than they. Rather than the project should not take effect, if they were as dear unto me as mine own son, they also must be blown up." Upon this, the resolution that no express warning should be given, but that "tricks" should be put upon the nobles that were Catholics, to keep them from the

1 Sir Edward Coke at the trial of the Conspirators.

2 "*Thomas Winter* only desired that he might be hanged both for his brother and himself."—*Trials of the Conspirators.*

House of Lords. To Tresham, this appeared too slender a thread to rely on. He hinted that he would not be ready to advance the sum agreed upon until he had sold some estates, and prayed for a delay. The famous letter was then devised, and sent in this manner, as is related in the courtly and authorised version of the King's Book.

On Saturday, October 26th, ten days before the assembly of Parliament, Lord Mounteagle suddenly, and without previous notice, ordered a supper to be prepared at his house at Hoxton, "where he had not supped or lain of a twelve-month[1] and more before that time." At table, one of his pages brought in a letter given to him by "a reasonable tall personage" in the street, with instructions to lay it in his master's own hands. Seeing the letter—unsigned and undated—was of a "somewhat unlegible hand," Mounteagle gave it to a gentleman of his household to read; and though doubtful whether the warning was to be read as some "foolish devised parquil" to scare him from his attendance at the Parliament, yet, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night, he set out to the Earl of Shaftesbury's chamber at Whitehall—

> "Whither heaven's finger doubtless him directed,
> As the best meanes to have this fact detected."[2]

As Jardine forcibly puts it, Mounteagle's unexpected visit to his house at Hoxton looks like the arrangement of a convenient scene; and it is deserving of notice that this gentleman, Ward, to whom the letter was given to read, was a friend of several of the conspirators. The open reading of the letter was an open warning that he might communicate the fact to the conspirators. In truth, he did so on the very next morning.

If they had taken the alarm, and instantly fled to Flanders, every detail of Tresham's scheme would have been fulfilled. When the conspirators, in spite of warning,

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1 Gerard's *Narrative*, page 101. 2 *Mischeefe's Mystery.*

lingered in London, Tresham's conduct is peculiarly remarkable. Two days after the delivery of the letter, he presses Catesby to leave the country, and promises him he shall live upon his purse. Three days before the 5th, in Lincoln's Inn Walks, he begs Winter to begone,[1] like "a man beside himself." Winter's allusion to "Master Tresham, whom we only suspected," marks the direction of their suspicions when they had wind of betrayal, and Coke, at the trial, treats of the "Discovery" as by one of themselves who had taken the oath and sacrament against his own will.[2]

That King James alone solved the evidence of the letter "like an angel of God," was put forward as an article of faith and etiquette with much detail in the King's Book. Against this, however, is the statement of Lord Salisbury, who in his relation to Sir Charles Cornwallis, declares that the interpretation of the letter had occurred to himself and the Lord Chamberlain before the letter was set before the King. Probably, as the enigma was easy of interpretation, the King arrived independently at the same result as his ministers. He concurred with them in thinking that "that should be done which would prevent all danger, or nothing at all," and therefore all action was postponed until the night of November 4th.

On Monday, in the afternoon, the Lord Chamberlain, with Lord Mounteagle, took his coach privately, and after he had visited the Parliament chamber, looked into the vault under the House, and enquired who owned the inordinate provision of wood and coals there. The name of "Percy," the appearance of a "very tall and desperate fellow," the keeper of the house, aroused some suspicion;

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1 *Greenway MSS.*

2 So Tresham: "Thus neither my land, purse, or head was either in the acting or contriving of this plot; but being lately and unexpectedly fallen into it, I sought, by all the arguments could, to dissuade it. The silence I used was only to deliver myself from that infamous brand of an accuser, and to save Catesby's life, which in all true rules I was bound to do."—*Tresham's Declaration, Nov.* 13, *State Paper Office.*

and it was determined that all the houses in the neighbourhood should be "narrowly ripped" by Sir Thomas Knevet, under a pretence of Whynniard missing some of the King's stuff and hangings which had been lost since the death of the late Queen.

Upon the midnight of the 5th, Guido Faukes was found by the search party standing without the door, "his clothes and boots on at so dead a time of night," and apprehended. A search in the cellar discovered the barrels of gunpowder, and upon a search of the person of Faukes, bound with his own garters, a watch, slow matches, and touch-wood were brought to light.[1]

Sir Thomas, leaving the prisoner well guarded, repaired to the King's Palace, and gave notice to the council of his success; and they, as soon as they could get themselves ready, came to the royal bed-chamber at about four o'clock of the morning. Faukes was brought in, for an examination, in which his constant fortitude was compared to that of some new Mutius Scævola. "He was no more dismayed—nay, scarce any more troubled than if he were taken for a poor robbery on the highway." The Scotch courtiers he answered with a jest that "one of his objects was to blow them back again to Scotland."

In the confusion bred by their suspicions, immediately after the visit of Lord Mounteagle to the Parliament House fled Catesby and John Wright. Percy and Christopher Wright followed hard upon them upon the alarm of Faukes' arrest.

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1 "Edmund Doubleday, Esquire, was of a tall and proper person, and lived in this city. Nor had this large case a little jewel, this long body a lazy soul, whose activity and valour was adequate to his strength and greatness, whereof he gave this eminent testimony.

"When Sir Thomas Knevet was sent, November 4th, 1605, by King James to search the cellar . . he took Master Doubleday with him. Here they found Guy Faux with his dark-lanthorn, in the dead of the night providing for the death of many the next morning. He was newly come out of the Devil's Closet (so I may fitly term the inward room where the powder lay, and the train was to be laid) into the outward part of the cellar. Faux beginning to bustle, Master Doubleday instantly ordered him at his pleasure, up with his heels, and there with the traitor lay the treason flat along the floor, by God's goodness, detected, defeated."—*Fuller's Worthies, Vol. II., Yorkshire.*

Keyes and Rokewood, seeing the guards at all the Palace gates and in all the streets in the neighbourhood, resolved to follow them. Rokewood, who had placed relays of horses all the way to Dunchurch, overtook Catesby and John Wright, and soon after Percy and Christopher Wright. Percy and John Wright cast off their cloaks into the hedge to ride uncumbered in their headlong course through "the foulness of the winter ways" to Ashby St. Ledgers, very near the muster at Dunchurch, the coursing match of Sir Everard Digby, whose mind was, "Nimrod-like, upon a far other manner of hunting."

Upon the morning of the discovery, Tuesday, the 5th of November, Robert Winter, with a small company of friends, had ridden from Dunchurch, and presented himself at Ashby St. Ledgers to wait for the first sign of their hopes—the earliest news from Catesby and from London.

As they were about to sit down to supper, about six in the evening, the five fugitives rode into the village, with their burden of ill news; and soon the whole party, taking with them what arms were in the house, rode on to Dunchurch. As they spread their tale that night, the hunting party rapidly and indignantly melted away, though Sir Everard Digby, fed with false reports by Catesby of the death of the King and the Earl of Salisbury, followed the forlorn hope, to make to Robert Winter's house at Huddington, and thence to Wales, to raise the western Roman Catholics.

Leaving at ten o'clock that night, they rode for the house of John Grant at Norbrook, and on their way broke into the stable of a breaker of cavalry horses at Warwick, leaving their spent horses in their stead. Rokewood alone, so well-horsed that he "meant not adventure himself in stealing any," rode on before to Norbrook, where, after a stay of a few hours, they passed through Alcester to Huddington.[1]

1 "These trayters that are risen say yt is to mayntayne the Catholicke cause. The number are 60^tie horses, wherof greate horse 30^ty. They are

There they were met by Greenway, a Jesuit, who joined them for two hours, and was greeted by Catesby with the words, "Here is a gentleman that will live and die with us." That night, the Wednesday, they were re-inforced by Thomas Winter, the last to leave London. After a vain attempt to enlist a certain influential John Talbot of Grafton, at sunrise on Thursday the whole company seized a large store of arms at Whewell Grange, a seat of Lord Windsor's, and pressed on to Holbeche House, on the borders of Staffordshire. Many of their followers had fallen away in the winter dusk, and one of them, Sir Everard Digby, forsaking the enterprise, was taken by the hue and cry, and conveyed to London. "Not one man," as he said, "came to take our part, though we had expected so many."[1]

At Holbeche, a curious accident pointed, in the conspirators' minds, to their discomfiture and to the "finger of God": the gunpowder they had brought with them in an open cart had been wetted in crossing the rain-swollen Stour, and while they were drying it upon a platter over a fire, a coal fell upon it, and in the explosion Catesby and Rokewood were slightly, Grant severely, burnt. John Wright, himself unhurt, cried out for the rest of the powder, that they might make an end of themselves. Robert Winter left the house, oppressed with a dream he had had before the blasting of the powder, wherein he thought he "saw steeples stand awry, and within those churches strange and unknown faces," like those of his now scorched and powder-stained associates. He fled, to be taken later at Hagley House, a seat of the Littletons.

About eleven, the Sheriff of the county arrived, and his men began firing into the house. Thomas Winter, who

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naked saving only daggers and gownes, they shocke on softeley and are gone to Anster, and soe to Winter's house. After them are come from Ashbye, the Lord Catesbie's house, two wagne loades with trunkes and furniture for horses which are taken at Radforde."—*MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, Vol. I., Hist. MSS. Comm.*

[1] Digby's Examination, December 2nd, 1605.

went out into the court to meet them, was wounded by a shot in the shoulder. John Wright and his brother fell, and Rokewood was hurt. Then said Catesby to Winter, standing before the door the Sheriff's men were about to enter, "Stand by me, Tom, and we will die together." As they stood by each other, Catesby and Percy were shot through the body with two bullets from one musket, and Catesby, though mortally wounded, was able to crawl on his knees to an image of the Virgin within the house, and died kissing and embracing it.

"And so," runs the King's Book, "the rest who were but lightly hurt were taken or led prisoners by the Sheriff to the jail, the ordinary place, even of the basest malefactors, where they remained until their sending up to London, being met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts, desirous to see them as the rarest sorts of monsters—fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, and generally all sorts of people to satiate and fill their eyes with the sight of them, whom in their hearts they so far admired and detested, serving so far a fearful and publick spectacle of God's fierce wrath and just indignation."[1]

M. JOURDAIN.

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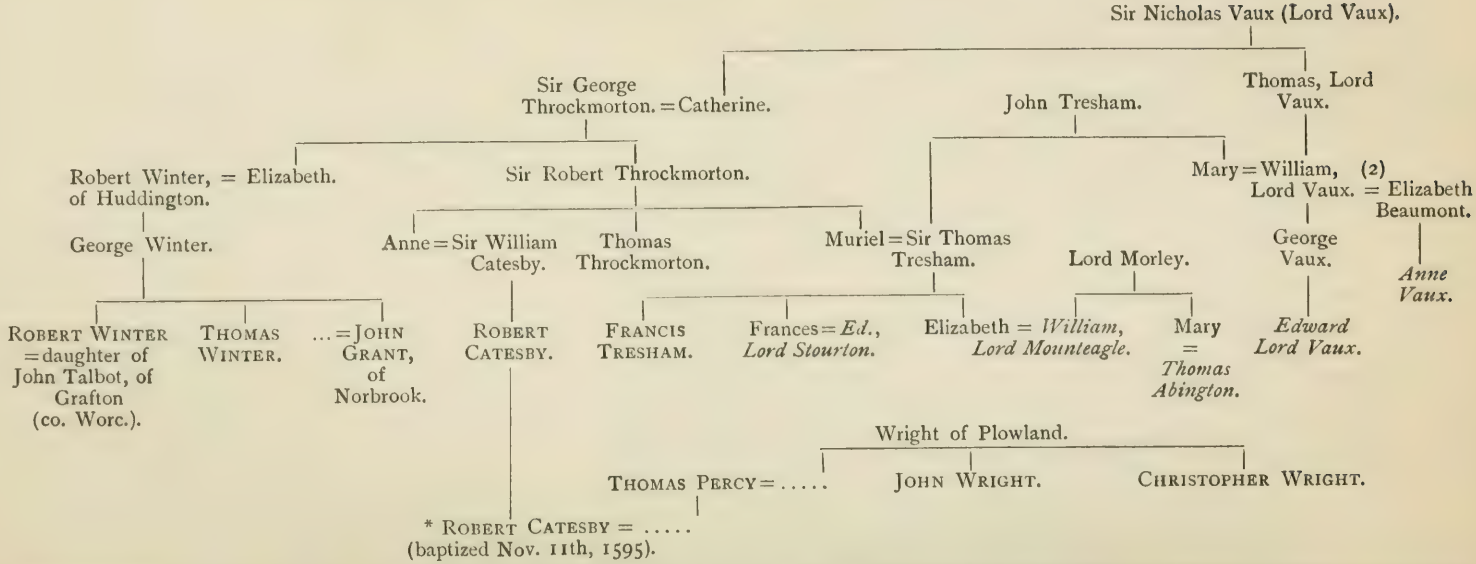
1 The discovery was greeted with unanimous gratulation, both by the ministry and the people. "I thanke God on the knees of my soul that this monstrous wickedness is discovered," writes Waad, Lieutenant of the Tower.

PEDIGREE, SHOWING RELATIONSHIP OF CONSPIRATORS.


Sir Nicholas Vaux (Lord Vaux).
Sir George Throckmorton. = Catherine.
John Tresham.
Thomas, Lord Vaux.
Robert Winter, of Huddington. = Elizabeth.
Sir Robert Throckmorton.
Mary = William, Lord Vaux. (2) = Elizabeth Beaumont.
George Winter.
Anne = Sir William Catesby.
Thomas Throckmorton.
Muriel = Sir Thomas Tresham.
Lord Morley.
George Vaux.
Anne Vaux.
ROBERT WINTER = daughter of John Talbot, of Grafton (co. Worc.).
THOMAS WINTER.
... = JOHN GRANT, of Norbrook.
ROBERT CATESBY.
FRANCIS TRESHAM.
Frances = Ed., Lord Stourton.
Elizabeth = William, Lord Mounteagle.
Mary = Thomas Abington.
Edward Lord Vaux.
Wright of Plowland.
THOMAS PERCY = ...
JOHN WRIGHT.
CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT.
* ROBERT CATESBY = ... (baptized Nov. 11th, 1595).

* Robert Catesby, who was an infant at the time of the Plot, was afterwards married to a daughter of Thomas Percy, the conspirator, according to *Visitations of Northamptonshire* made in 1564, 1618-19 (1887).

(Names in italics are those who are not conspirators, but whose names were mentioned in connection with the trials.)

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE MILITIA IN THE REIGNS OF KING HENRY VIII. AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE following five documents, relating to the Northamptonshire portion of the Army in the reigns of King Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, were printed in the *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, 1890, with the notes as given at the end, by the late Sir H. Dryden, Bart.

On dors. — THE BOOKE OF Y^E^ MUSTERS HOLDEN Y^E^ XXX^TH^ DAY OF JANEWEARY ANNO XXXVIJ^O^. H. OCTAVI IN Y^E^ HUNDRED OF SUTTON WARDON' TOCESTER AND NORTON'.

ANNO XXXVij R. H. Viij^th^ (1545-6, H. D.).

THE BOOKE OF MUSTARS.

The Certificate of the Musters taken the xxx day of January in the xxxvij yere of the reigne of o^r^ soverain Lord Henry the viij^th^ by the grace of god kyng of England Fraunce and Ireland defender of the fayth and in erthe of the Churche of England, and also of Ireland the supreme heyd, by Fraunce Tanfeld esquyer Willm. Chauncy & Thoms. Malory gent comȳssion's. appoyntyd by division for the hundrethes of Towcett^r^, Norton, Sutton and Wardē w'in the Countie of North'. by vertue of the Kinges Majestes comyssion to them and other

directyd, accordyng to such ordre and Rate as hereafter followeth.

THE HUNDRETH OF TOWCETT^{R}.

Towcett^{r}	John Battersby	Archers
	Thomas Lamberd	
	Willm. Savadge	
	Mylys Cumen	
	Thoms. Wood	
	Ihus.	
	Henry Denyson	
	Thoms. Davy gent.	
	Richard Almayne	
	Thom. Mychell	Bylmen
	Henry Smyth	
	Robert Moore	
	Richard Panton	
	John Harryson	
	Nicholas Margettes	
	John Gurnard	
	Willm. Robynson	
	Humfrey Coppyn	
Abthropp'	John Stacy	Bilmen
	Thoms. Clarke	
Caldecote	John Maryat	Bilmen
	John Lawe	
Coldhighm.	Laurence Wattes	Bilmen
	John Denby	
	John Balgaye	
Pattysshull	John Boughton	archer
	Henry Pynckard	archer
	Thom. Wynckelles	bilman
	Thoms. Pell	bilman
Gayton	Hugh Tomkyns	bilmen
	John Houghton	
	John Barber	
	Willm. Freman	
Tyghfeld	Robert Jones	archers
	Willm. Howse	

The numbre of archers w^{t}in this hundreth of Towcett^{r} . . . . . xij archers

The numbre of bilmen . . . . xxij bilmen

The numbre of harness' w^{t} in this hundreth . ix harnessis

THE HUNDRETH OF NORTON.

Silveston	John Holman . . .	bilman
	Raf Hylton	bilman
Whittilbury	Robert Smyth . . .	archers
	Willm. Harryettes . . .	
Mooreton	Thoms. Bull	bilman
Copis Assheby	Willm. Harby . . .	archers
	Henry Hawten . . .	
Weden and Weston	Robert Willes . . .	bilman
Plumpton	Thoms. Pereson . . .	bilman
Blakysley	Richard Major . . .	bilmen
	John Taylour . . .	
	Richard Wykyns . . .	
Bradden'	Richard Goodman . . .	bilman
Maidford	Willm. Reve. . . .	archer
	Thoms. Truste . . .	bilman
Able men	Archers in noumbre in this hundreth of Norton . .	vj archers.
	Bylmen in noumbre . .	ix bylmen
Harnysses	The noumbre of harnesses w^th^in this hundred of Norton	xj harnessis

THE HUNDRETH OF SUTTON.

Chacombe	John Langley . . .	bilman
Culworthe	Richard Harwood . . .	bilman
Crowton	John Right	bilmen
	Richard Tytons . . .	
Aynho	James Bughley . . .	bilmen
	Willm. Cowley . . .	
	Thoms. Howse . . .	
Brackley	George Yorke . . .	archers
	Richard Masters . . .	
	Robert Clarke . . .	
	John Bosse	
Thropp Moundefeld	John Towsell. . . .	archer
	John Cartar	bilmen
	Thoms. Holdam . . .	

Newbottell	John Bygnell . . .	archer
Charwelton	Robert Heyryng . . .	bilman
Hynton	Robert Sowth . . .	bilman
Lauraunce	John Blynckho . . .	archer
Marston	Cristofer Blynckho . .	bilman
Helmeden	Richard Nicholles . . .	archers
	Richard Reynoldes . .	
	Willm. Mole	bilman
Myddilton Cheyny	William Goldby . . .	archer
	Willm. Cartar . . .	bilman
	Thoms. Taylour' . . .	bilman
	Willm. Neyale . . .	bilman
Warkworth	Thoms. Maryat . . .	archer
	Richard Taylor . . .	bilmen
	Thoms. Bland . . .	
Syressham	John Squyer' . . .	bilmen
	Adryan Beston . . .	
Kinges Sutton	Willm. Wellys . . .	archer
	Thomas Leke . . .	bilmen
	John Hobcrofte . . .	
Evenley	Thoms. Weyneman . .	archers.
	Thomas Cawsse . . .	
	Thoms. Stuttisbery, Junr .	bilman
Archers	The Noumbre of Archers in this hundreth of Sutton. .	xiiij archers
Bilmen	The Noumbre of bilmen . .	xxiij bilmen
Harnessis	The Noumbre of harnessis . .	xxjti

HUNDRED DI WARDON.

Cheping Wardon'	Robert Marche . . .	archers
	Richard Lauraunce . .	
	John Byrche	bilman
Edgecote	John Stokeley . . .	bilman
Eydon	Robt Teye	bilman
Boddington	Willm. Russell . . .	archer
Byfeld	Thoms Cottisbrok . . .	archers
	George Scleyth . . .	
	Willm. Heynes . . .	bilmen
	Thoms. Lapworthe . .	

Woodford Hynton and Farndon	Robert Stepull . . . / Richard Norton . . .	bilmen
Archers	The Noumbre of Archers in Hundreth of Wardon . . .	v archers
Bilmen	The Noumbre of bilmen . .	vj bilmen
Harnysses	The Noumbre of harnesses in this hundreth of Wardon .	ix harnessis
Archers	The Noumbre of all the Archers w^{t}in thies iiij hundrethes aforsaid Amount vnto . .	xxxvij^{li}
Bylmen	The noumbre of all the bilmen w^{t}in the forsaid iiij hundrethes Amounte unto . . .	lx
Harnyssis	The nowmbre of harnyssis w^{t}in the same foure hundreth is Amount unto	l^{ti}

And we the sayde com̄yssyeners have assemelyd and mustrede every one of ou^{r} selves and be in redynes to serve at one owers warnyng.

And thoses hernesseys that we and every one of us acordyng to ow^{r} habylyte can make we have inployyde ytt w^{t} certayne money to y^{e} Fyndyng of wepons for y^{e} sayde harnesse to y^{e} furnyture of y^{e} iiij^{c} men nowe to sett forwardes ow^{t} of y^{e} sayde sheyre (in consyderacyon of y^{e} dysabylyte and poverte of y^{e} com̄ons in y^{e} sayde shere and the insuffyancy of harnese there amongste them at thys present) being y^{e} yere laste paste chargyd w^{t} viij^{c} men and viij^{c} harnesseys and havyng no retourne yete of any the sayd harnesses.

The noumbre of the harnesses levyede by y^{e} sayde com̄yssyoners and com̄ons Resijaunt w^{t} in y^{e} sayde iiij hundredes . . . l

The boke of harnes taken the xxxth daye of September in the Ffyrst year[1] off the rayne of o^r^ sov'ayne Lady Elizabethe of theise iiii hundreds that is to saye of Sutton Wardon Norton & Towcetor the w^ch^ were taken & showed before us at Towcetur the same daye.

HUNDRED OF SUTTON.

FARNYNGHO.

Jeffrye Dormer gentylman doth furnyshe a lyght horseman and the rest of the towne an archer on foote.

HELMEDON.

That town is chargid to furnyshe out on byll man.

WARKWOTHE NETH'RCOOTE & GRYMSBURY.

Workwothe toune is chargid to furnyshe an archer Grymsburye and Neth'coote is chargyd to furnishe out on byllman.

MYDDELTON & OV'RTHORPE.

Wyllm Wilks is charged with himself as a lyght horseman. Thomas Taylor to furnyshe an archer and the rest of that towne an archer.

AYNO & WALTON.

Rowland Shakerley gentylmen is chargyd to furnyshe on light horseman. Mrs. Love wydowe and hir sonne to furnyshe a byll man & the rest off that towne to furnyshe an archer.

THRUPP MOUNDE FEYLDE.

Mr. Gyfford is charged to furnyshe a pyke man on foote & the rest of that town an archer.

NEWBOTTEL ASTRUPPE & PURSON.

Raulphe Paumer is chargyd to furnyshe an hakbutte Master Croswell an archer Thomas Robyns an archer & the rest of that towne to furnyshe an archer.

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[1] September 30th, 1559.—H.D.

SIRYSH'M.

This towne is charged to furnyshe out a byll manne.

WAPENH'M.

This town is chargyd for to fynd a byll man.

CROUGHTO'.

This towne is chargyd to furnyshe out an archer.

EVYNLYE.

George Marchall is chargyd for to furnyshe an archer on foote and the rest of that towne to furnyshe an archer.

STEANE & HYNTON.

Wyllm Gifford gent is charged for to furnyshe an archer on foote & yt towne is chargyde to furnyshe an archer.

CHACOMB.

Master Fox is chargid with a lyghte horseman & that towne is chargyde to furnyshe a byll man.

FENFORD & MARSTON.

Fulke Odell is chargid with a lyght horse man John Blyncowe wt a horsema' the rest of the towne a byll man.

BRACKLEY.

George Yorke is chargid to furnyshe a byll man & the rest of that towne to furnyshe an archer.

KYNGESUTTON.

Mr. Chambers is chargyd with a bylman on fote & the rest of that towne to furnyshe an archer and a byll man.

CULWORTHE.

Mrs. Da'ver widow is chargid to furnyshe a byll man on foote & the rest of that towne to furnyshe an archer.

RODESTON & WHYTFEYLD.

That towne is chargyd to furnyshe a byll man.

ASTWELL AND FAWLCOTT.

That towne is chargyd to furnyshe a byll man.

ASTWELL AND FAWLCOTT.

Thom's Lovet ther chargyd to furnyshe out ij light horsemen.

WARDEN HUNDREDE.

EIDONNE.

Mr. Wakelyn is chargid to furnyshe a byll man and the rest of that towne a byll man.

WODFORD FARNDON & HYNTON.

Mr. Catesby is chargid wth a byll man & the rest of yt towne a byll manne.

SOULGRAVE.

Mr. Washyngton is charged to fynd an archer on foote & the rest of yt towne an archer.

BODYNGTGN MAGNA & P'VA.

This towne is chargyd to fynd an archer.

GRYTWORTHE.

M. P'gyttor is chargid to fynd an archer on foot & the rest of y^{t} towne to furnyshe a byll man.

BYFEYLD.

This towne is chargyd to furnyshe an archer.

WARDON.

This towne is chargyd with a byll man.

ASTON IN THE WALL.

Mr. Butler is chargyd with a lyght horse man.

EDGECOTE.

Mr. Chauncye is chargyd to furnyshe a lyght horse man & an archer on foote.

TOWCESTOR HUNDRED.

TOWCESTOR.

This towne is chargyd to furnyshe ij archers & ij byll menne.

GEYTON.

This towne is chargyd to furnyshe an archer.

COLDCOT.

This towne is chargyd to furnyshe an archer.

BRADDEN.

Mr. Mathew is chargyd to furnyshe a pyke maune and the rest of yt a byll maune.

MORTON.

This towne is chargyd to furnyshe an archer.

ADDESTON.

This towne is chargyd to furnyshe a byll man.

WEDON WESTON & PLUMPTON.

Theise townes ar chargyd to furnyshe an archer.

SLAPTON.

This towne is chargyd to furnyshe an archer and a byll mann and the Farmrs to beare the byll manne.

MAYDFORTH.

This towne is chargyd to furnyshe an archer.

WYTTELBURYE.

This towne is chargid to furnyshe an archer.

PATYSHILL.

This towne is chargid to furnyshe an archer.

TYFFEYLDE.

This towne is chargid to furnyshe an archer.

ABTHROPE.

This towne is chargid to furnyshe an archer.

COLD HIGH'M.

This towne is chargid to furnyshe an archer.

NORTON HUNDRED.

BLAKSLEY & WOODEND.

Theise towns are chargyd with an archer.

Mr. Watts ther to furnyshe an archer and Mr. Foxley to furnyshe an archer.

SYLVESTON.

This towne is chargyd to furnyshe a byll man.

NORTON & DUNCOTE.

This towne is chargyd with ij men an archer and a pyke.

Dymilauncs and Light Horsses, must'ed & viewed by Sir John Spencer and Sir Richard Knyghtley Knights at Daventry, the xxth daye of September 1583.

DYMILANC'S.

Sr. John Spencer.	
Sr. Richard Knyghtley.	
George Farmer Esq. . .	i allowed saving his pistolls.
Willm Chauncey Esquier .	i allowedd.
Edward Cope Esq. . .	i allowedd.
John Dryden Gent. . .	i allowedd.
Thoms Andrewe Esq. .	i allowedd.
Eusaby Isham Esq. . .	i allowedd.
Thoms Lovet Esq. . .	i allowedd.
Roger Cave Esq. . .	i allowedd.
Frannes Saund'rs Esq. .	i allowedd.
Thoms Morgan Esq. . .	i allowedd.

LIGHT HORSSES.

	Thomas Lovet . . ur	i furnished.
dead	Mr Braye	i fur.
absent	Mr Kerton . . .	i fur.
	Mr Odell. his horsse allowed.	his pystols naught.
	Mr Danv'rs . . .	i fur.
	Mr Butt'ye . . .	i allowedd.
	Mr Pargittr . . .	i fur.
	Mr Fox	i fur.
	Mr Blinko	i fur.
	Mr Dormer . . .	i fur.
	Mr Robert Mathewe default.	
	Roger Cave Esq. . .	i fur.

Mr Burnabye . . .	i not allowedd.
Mr Reade	i allowedd wth out armr.
Mr Goodale . . .	i allowedd.
Mrs Shugburghe . .	i allowedd.
Mr Wake	i his pystolls naught
Mr Catesbye . . .	i he wantethe pistolls
Mr Harlowe . . .	he wantethe pystolls
George Farmr Esq. . .	fur saving his pystolls
Mr Furtho all furnished saving his horse.	i
Mr Barn'd	i his pystols naught.
Augustine Crispe . .	i fur.
Mr Jo. Freman default and to be warned where he dwelleth.	
Mr Butler	i fur.
Mr Harbye	i his pystolls naught.
Mr Foxley	i neather horse nor pystolls allowedd.
Mr Wm Watts . . .	i allowedd.
Mr Hicklinge . . .	i allowedd.
Mr Jherom Farmer . .	i allowedd.
Thomas Andrewe Esq. .	i allowedd.
Mr Worley	defaulte.
Mr Wm. Spencer . .	i allowedd.
Mr Thomas Knightley .	i fur.
Mr Thoms Onley . .	i fur.
Vallentyne Knightley Esq. .	i fur.
Mr Eaton	i fur.
Mr Edward Saund'rs . .	i fur.
Mr Attarbury of Great Haughton.	
Mr Andrewes of Harlestone.	
Mr Tanfylde of Gayghton.	
Mr Butler of Preston on the hill.	
Mr Clerke of Pirrey.	
Mr Osbern.	
Mr Gaytys of G . . . ton.	
Mr Crasswell.	
Mr Britten.	
Mr Waklyn.	
Mr Nycoll of Bo . . .	

NORTHAMPTON.

Mr Mersar. Mayor. Mr Bryan. Hensman G . . . Mr Raynford. Mr Kyrtland. Mr Shepard.	To be chargyd by our p'septs by a day conveynt if they refuse then to comande them by p'septe to appear.

The letters "ur" after "Thomas Lovet" probably stand for "junior" or "younger." From "Mr. Attarbury" inclusive to the end is in a different hand.

"To the Baylie of the hundred of Cleyley.

"Whereas we have latly recd fro' her Mats most honorable p'vie Counsell her highnes generall Comissiones for her armes and keapinge of horses and mares accordinge to the statute and therewh certaine instructions in what sorte the horseme' shal be furnished and accordinge to the same to be vewed and mustred by us at such convenient tymes and place as wee shall thinke convenient therefore by vertue thereof these shal be to commande wth all speade you to sum' warne and charge these psons whose names are hereunder wrytte' to bring there horses & geldings furnisshed as hereundr sett downe before us at Daventreye on Tewsday beinge the xxijth of September next cominge by ix of the cloce in the foreno viz for ev'ie demilaunce as sufficent stone horse furnisshed as in tymes past and for ev'ie light horsema' a sufficient horse or geldinge wth a light large northen saddell havinge a sufficent pumell to hange a case of daggs att, a light bitt, or snapfell for the horse, a northen stafe a case of pistolls a sworde a dagger, a jacke or cote of plate wth a skull or burganett for the heade or els a Allmaine Ryvett or the curett of a corslet. And ffurther wee comande you to declare to the' and ev'ie of the' p'ticularly that we be especally comaunded by exprese words in the l'res directed unto us that wee shall enioyne all such psouns & ev'ie of the' that shall make in default anie thinge wherewith they or enie of them att the said day and place according to their portons hereund' rated that the erie these founde in default shall be enioyned uppo' a certaine paine uppo' or pleasure p'sonally to appere before the Lords and others of her Mats most honorable p'vie counsell the heighe comissionrs in that behalf att such daye and tyme as we shall thinke requesite Faile not you nor they thereof, as you and they will answare for the contrary att yr p'ills. Allthrop the ..... of August 1584.

	George Farmer Esq	j dymilaunce	ii
	and	j light horse	
Furnisshed savinge ye horse	Thomas Furthoe Esq :	j light horse	
Furnisshed	William Clarke gent	j light horsse	
	John Spencer	R. Knyghtley.	

To the Baylie of the hundred of Wym'sley.

Whears we have lately recd a comysion from her Mats most hon'able privie councell her highnes gen'all comysions for the mustering of her armes and keping of horses and mares according to the statute. And therw crten instrucions in what sort of horsemen shal be furnished And according to the same to be vewed and mustred by us at suche convenient time and place as wee shall think requisyte Therfor by v'tue thereof these shal be to comaunde you wth a speade to somon warne and charge these p'sons whose names are hereundr wrytten to bringe their horses and geldings furnished as hereundr set downe before us at Daventreye on Tuesdaye being the xxij day of September next coming by ix of the clock in the forenoone vizt for a demilaunce a sufficient stone horse furnished as in tyme last past and for ev'ye Light horsemen a suffycyent horsse or gelding with a light northen sadle large having a suffycient pummell to hange a case of daggs thereat a light bytt or snaffle for the horsse a northen staff a case of pystolls a swordd and a daggr a jack or a coate of plate wth a scull or burgenet for the headde or ells an almayne ryvet or the curette of a corslete And further we comaund you to declare to them and ev'ye of them pticulerlye that we be specyallye comaunded by expresse words in the lres directed unto us that we shall enioyne all suche p'sons and ev'ye of them that shall mak defaulte in anye thing wherewth they or anye of them are charged at the said daye & place according to their porcons hereundr rated that they ev'ye of them so founde in defaulte shalbe enioyned uppon a c'ten paine at or pleasrs psonallye to appeare before the Lords and others of her Mats most

hono'able p'vye councell the highe comysionrs in that behalf at suche daye and tyme a we shall think requysyte Fayle not you nor they hereyn as you and they will answeare for the contraye on yr and ther p'ills Althroppe the ..... of August, 1584.

furnished	John Wake Esq . . .	j Lyghte horse
default	Thomas Catesbye Esq . .	j Lyghte horse
pistolls	Robert Harlowe gent . .	j Lyghte horse
wantage		
default	John Atterberrye of Houghton magna gent . . .	j Lyghte horse
default	Mawrice Osborne of Piddington and Heccleton gent . .	j Lyghte horse
	John Spencer	R. Knyghtley.

Notes illustrating matters in the preceding documents.

In the "Boke of harnes," the parishes of Bradden, Morton, Addeston, Wedon, Weston and Plumpton, Slapton, Maydforth, and Wyttleburye, are placed in Towcester Hundred: but they should have been in Norton Hundred.

MUSTERS.—The constitution of the army at the time of Elizabeth was rather the result of usage than of special statutes. A standing army, as an acknowledged institution, dates no farther back than Charles II.

William the Conqueror, for defence of the kingdom, enjoined all freemen to provide themselves with competent arms.

Henry II. gave to the itinerant judges the charge to see that this injunction was faithfully obeyed. In 1181 they received instructions to enquire, with the aid of juries, into the value of all freemen's rents and chattels, to enroll their names in separate classes, to add after each the arms belonging to that class, and to cause the schedule to be read in open court before those whom it concerned. Every military tenant was to possess a coat of mail, a helmet, a lance, and a shield, for every knight's fee which he held. Every free layman having in rent or chattels the value of

sixteen marks, was to be armed in the same manner; but if he had only ten marks, he was to possess a habergeon, a skull cap of iron, and a lance. And all burgesses and freemen of smaller property were to have at least a jacket lined with wool, a skull cap of iron, and a lance. No Jew was to have in his custody any coat of mail or habergeon, but must "sell it or give it, or in other manner dispose of it, that it shall remain to the King's use."

In the course of time, payments of money, called "scutage" (shield money), were accepted in lieu of personal service, and mercenaries were hired by the king, or substitutes were provided by the tenants of the Crown. The chief lords of the fees, being required to produce a certain number of men, allotted this number amongst their sub-vassals.

"These armies were raised partly from those bound to serve by tenure, partly by forced levies, which, though illegal, and often strenuously resisted by Parliament, were not infrequent; but mainly by contracts entered into with some knight or gentleman expert in war, and of great revenue and livelihood in the country to serve the King in war with a number of men."

So it appears that by slow degrees the custom arose of the *Crown's* commissioning certain men in each county to allot and summon the arms, without the intervention of chief or mesne lords.

The order of Elizabeth, of 1572, was given without action of Parliament, but it was based on the Statute of 4 and 5 of Philip and Mary. The Statute of Philip and Mary gives the proportion of arms due by different amounts of property, and the proportions of the kinds of arms to each other. Whoever had over £100 and under £200 in land was to keep two geldings for Light Horsemen, and certain articles of armour. Whoever had over 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) and under £100, was to keep one gelding furnished for a Light Horseman and certain articles of armour. It was not strictly carried out.

COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY.—At the time of these documents we have horsemen, light horsemen, demilances, hakbutters, archers, archers on foot, byllmen, byllmen on foot, and pikemen.

In the "Booke of Mustars" relating to four hundreds in 1545-6, are named 37 archers, 60 billmen, and 50 harnesses.

In the "Boke of Harnes" relating to the same four hundreds in 1559, was ordered 1 horseman, 9 light horsemen, 1 hakbutter, 34 archers, 6 archers on foot, 24 billmen, and 3 pikemen; total, 67.

In the "List of Dymilauncs and Light Horsses" in 1583 are named 12 of the former and 38 of the latter, besides 17 names of defaulters of the light-horse division.

The first Precepts relate to the hundreds of Cleley in 1584, and order 3 light horsemen and 1 demilance. The second Precepts relate to the hundred of Wymersley in 1584, and order 5 light horsemen. These two documents, relating to cavalry only, are not evidence that no infantry were raised from those hundreds. Probably other persons were appointed to muster them.

The List of Demilances evidently relates to the six hundreds already named, and to Fawsley, and, at least, parts of Nobottle and Spelhoe in addition.

It must not be supposed that the individuals named attended in person: they only provided the soldier and his accoutrements, and his horse if necessary.

HARNES.—This word (if the supposed derivation is correct) properly signifies iron implements or armour. It was used of old for all the armour or furniture of a soldier, sometimes including the weapons. The title in the second document includes men, horses, armour, and weapons. The term is used in its restricted sense in the first documents. See the Culworth Accounts hereafter, Bible in various places, Spenser, etc.

HORSEMAN.—It is not clear whether this word means light horseman, or dymilance, or hakbutter; but probably the first.

LIGHT HORSEMEN.—These were comparatively a new kind of troops; hence, whilst the dymilance is to be "as in tyme past," the accoutrements of this soldier are detailed. His horse has a large northern saddle and a light bit or snaffle. He has a jack, or coat of plate, with a skull or burgonet, or an Allmaine Ryvet, or the curett of a corslet. He is armed with a northern staff, a case (pair) of daggs or pistols, a sword, and dagger.

Northern Saddle.—Such as was used on the Scotch borders by the light horsemen employed to guard their marches against the irregular Scotch Freebooters.

Jack or Coat of Plate.—It is not clear whether at this date the terms were synonymous. "Jack" had originally meant a vestment nearly allied to jerkin, sometimes a coat of mail; but probably here meant a coat, on which were sewn pieces of plate—brigandine. It is certain that it was to be something lighter than the dress of the demilance.

Skull or Burgonet.—These are not synonymous terms: the first is a plain iron cap or morion; the second is a head-piece, originally worn in France (Burgundian), of a more complicated form, covering the neck and part of the face, and much more expensive than the skull. From the authors of the period we learn that it was often much ornamented.

Almayne (German) Rivet.—This was breast and thigh armour, the latter formed of overlapping plates, fastened together by rivets, with elongated slits in the upper plates, so that the upper pieces moved easily over those below.

Curett of a Corslet.—A corslet was understood to mean the breast and back plates, with the tassets and head-piece. Hence in some accounts we find "the corslet, and that which belongs to it." The curett was the breast and back pieces only.

Northern Staff.—(See before, under "Saddle.") It was a short spear.

Daggs or Pistols.—In both precepts both words are used, but they are often used synonymously. The word

"dag" must not be confused with "dagger," though originally the same word. The derivation of the word is not settled. It came to mean a pistol from its being able to penetrate like a dagger. See Saxon, Old French, and Base Latin dictionaries.

In the list of "Dymilances, etc.," we find several of the horsemen have pistols "naught"[1]—worthless, and not allowed. Some have none. Only one man came with a horse which would not pass muster.

HAKBUTTER.—Hakbut is the same as harquebus, or arquebus, with many slight variations of spelling. This weapon was a light gun, 2 ft. 6 ins. or 3 ft. in length, introduced from Germany. Some hakbutters were on horseback, others on foot. This one was probably on horseback.

DYMILANCES.—These were horse soldiers, of which the accoutrements were well understood, and, therefore, not detailed. They were once the light cavalry, but now became heavy, as compared with the "Light horsemen," and this is here shown by the order about their horses. Although the word "furnished" properly applies to the horse, no doubt it was meant to apply to the man also. The demilance was about 10 ft. or 12 ft. long, whilst the old lance was 18 ft. long, which was the weapon of the man-at-arms encased in armour from top to toe, at this period just extinct. The demilancer is depicted in the print of the Siege of Boulogne. He has there a hat, tunic, breast and back plates, long boots, brassarts (arm pieces) of plate, and short cloak. He carries a lance about 7 ft. 6 ins. long, but in reality it was longer. The Northamptonshire dymilance had pistols. He was a much more expensive soldier to turn out than the light horseman, and, therefore, the former were allotted to men of larger property than were the latter, but those who had to find two horses found but one dymilance and one light horse. In the "Boke of

[1] The word "naught," long since disused as an *adjective*, is found in writers of that date as "things naught and things indifferent." We still use it in the form "naughty."

Harnes," Thomas Lovet is to furnish two light horses, and here we find him producing one dymilance and one light horse.

ARCHERS.—The greater part of these were on foot, but mounted archers were also in use at this time. From the small proportion in this list of "archers on foot" to "archers," we might assume that the latter were on foot also, and the words "on foot" redundant, as no horses are mentioned; but doubt is thrown on this by items in the Churchwardens' Accounts of Culworth, for which see Appendix.

BILLMEN.—It is impossible, by words alone, to describe the exact shape of the various weapons, each of which varied in form. The bill had a long, narrow blade, curved inward, having a point at the back, with a shaft about 4 ft. 9 in. long, closely resembling the bills now used for trimming hedges. It was ineffectual against a charge of cavalry in the first instance, but had the advantage over all other arms at close quarters.

The halberd was a kindred weapon, but less usual and more expensive, and not mentioned in these documents.

The billman was dressed in a corslet or light body armour, with light morion or iron skull-cap, but no plate on legs or arms. He had long hose, and often the right leg of one colour and left of another, and the same of sleeves. He is occasionally depicted with target, sword, and dagger, as well as bill; but it appears from various circumstances that the shield was unusual, and the sword often omitted. The Culworth (1536) soldier is not shown to have had any weapon but the bill, or any armour but his sallet. It may be thought strange that the invention of the gun did not annihilate the bill and pike; but guns were long in getting into favour in the army, and even now we use the lance; and it was formerly shown what the scythe (much like the bill) can do against trained troops when it is in the stout hands of persecuted Poles.

PIKE MEN.—Before the date of these documents the bill and halberd had sunk into disfavour, and the pike had mainly taken their place. It is, therefore, worth notice that in 1559 the roll gives 24 billmen to 3 pikemen.

Perhaps the pike, being the new weapon, was entrusted to more trained troops, and the country people allowed to continue their old national weapon. The pikeman usually had a dagger. The pike was a shaft 12 ft. and sometimes more in length, with a narrow small blade a few inches long. It is said to have been revived about this time by the Swiss, and was found very effective against cavalry. The pikeman had usually for defensive armour a corslet, similar to that of the billman, and a sallet or morion.[1]

PAY OF SOLDIERS.—There are several payments to the soldier in the Culworth accounts, but none from which we get at his daily pay; but from accounts of 1585, preserved at St. Albans, we get the following scale of daily wages to soldiers when training:—

	s.	d.
Corporal of qualivers	2	6
Drummers	2	0
Men trained with qualivers	1	0
Men trained in corslets	1	0
Men trained without armour	0	8

The gunners were also allowed 2d. a day for match or touch. Powder was 1s. and bullets 3d. the lb. Sawyers got 1s. a day. At the same time, master masons got 1s., common labourers 6d. and 8d.

I have no means at hand of ascertaining the wages paid to these men who embodied in the main army or any large portion of it. It seems probable that they provided themselves with food when in training in their own districts, and that the wages mentioned were the only outlay by the

1 For further information see statutes of . . . Henry II.; 33 Hen. VIII.; 2 and 3 Ed. VI.; 4 and 5 Philip and Mary; Eliz. Commission (*Harleian MS.*, 6844) given in Meyrick; Meyrick's *Antient Armour*; Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*; Fairholt's *Costume*; Hudson's *Brasses in Northamptonshire*; Stothard's *Mon. Effigies*; Bloxam's *Mon. Arch.*; Ducange's *Glossary*; Collections at the Tower, Goodrich Court, and other places.

Government, but when embodied, of course, they were fed by the commissariat; and whether their food was *given* in addition to these wages, or deducted from them, I have not ascertained. We have the pay roll of the army before Calais, in 1347, but here, probably, the pay was in addition to food. The soldiers had to furnish themselves with underclothing, and in consequence were often under clothed in the bad sense of the term.[1]

To judge of prices in bygone times is always a difficulty. Probably the best standard is the value of a bushel of wheat, of barley, and of oats, but these prices are seldom to be got relating to the same period. Then the bushel was not always *exactly* the same; and, from various causes, prices of provisions varied in a few months in a way of which, fortunately, we have no experience; so that single quotations are exceedingly fallacious.

For instance, in 1557, wheat varied from 8s. to £2 13s. a quarter; in 1558, wheat 14s.; in 1560, 8s.; in 1574, £2 16s. the quarter. In 5th Elizabeth a statute was passed about wages, as necessaries had advanced in prices and wages were insufficient.

The fact of wheat not being the food of the people in old times does not detract from its value as a standard, added to which the price of it is much more often given than that of barley or rye. In 1584, wheat averaged about 3s. a bushel, and the soldier, and mason, and sawyer got one-third of its value.

RANK OF PERSONS NAMED.—Knight, Esquire, Gentleman, Master.

Knight.—The word in Saxon meant a pupil, servant, or youth. It came to be a military title, probably from their being servants of the king. The French tantamount word was "chevalier," from *cheval*, a horse. It must be recollected that in the middle ages knighthood was not a

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1 See Grose's *Military Antiquities* and *Archæologia*, XXXV., 321.

rank inferior to nobility, but distinct, so that a noble sometimes was not a knight, in which case the knight would have had precedence. After the Conquest, England was divided into knights' fees, or territories, and the said knights held the land by certain military service. By the statute of 1st of Ed. II., everyone having a knight's fee of land might be compelled to be made knights, attached to which process were certain payments by the new chevalier. Afterwards it was ruled that all those who had land of a certain yearly value should take up the title. This at length became a nuisance, and is supposed to have been one of the many causes of the great Rebellion. It was, however, repealed by 17th of Charles I.

Esquire.—Originally the man who, in time of war, carried the knight's shield (in French, *escu*), but long before Elizabeth's time had become a distinct title, next below a knight. At the time of these documents the restriction of the title was very clear. Amongst others entitled to it were the eldest sons of knights, sheriffs of counties, and justices of the peace; and the chiefs of some ancient families were so by prescription. In the "Boke of Harnes" the title is not used, though some persons are named (as Thomas Lovet), who, in the list of Demilances, are so titled. In the Precepts it is given to some who are styled "Mr." in the list of Light-horses.

Gentleman.—This, in the time of Elizabeth, was a style, and the old law books define it to be one who, being above a yeoman, but without any title, bears a coat of arms, or whose ancestors have been freemen. In ancient times, a man was sometimes created a gentleman; but the addition of this word to a name was unusual before about 1420. In the lists before us it is only given to seven persons.

Master (contracted Mr.) is the term given to yeomen and farmers.

PERSONS NAMED.—The following list, with the residences, will be useful to some readers, and will enable

slender stems, with slight knops, swelling plain feet. The patens are generally e, the upper surfaces flat, with slight rims, igh and clumsy feet. The bread-holders similar to the patens but still larger and nsier. It is very usual to find engraved on e of this date the symbol I H S, the H rsected by a cross pattée fitchée, above the e nails, the whole being surrounded by a y. It is also not uncommon to find this symbol engraved on plate of a much ier date, which it greatly disfigures. vard the end of the nineteenth century ever, the older types have been revived, much of the communion plate is of really llent design. For instance, at the very lern church of St. Matthew, Northampton, e is a beautiful silver gilt cup, cover, bread-ler, and glass flagon and cruets made in 1-93.

(To be continued.)

Correspondence.

Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed by Correspondents.

HE QUEEN VICTORIA CLERGY FUND.

o the Editor of the Diocesan Magazine.

IR,—Every year I notice a serious dimi-ion both of the amount sent to the central ce from our diocese, and consequently of block grant which it receives in return. I te to suggest as a practical and desirable ans of keeping the fund in hearty vitality t the plan devised and adopted in Ely ese should be officially adopted in Peter-ough diocese also. It seems very simple and culated to work advantageously. It has been nounced there that in future the whole grant n London will be divided into just as many es as there shall be applications from poor efices which are voted worthy of help, and ry parish applying for a share must under-e to raise and send up £5, and should two hree shares be applied for, the sum raised st be £10 or £15 and so on. When these ish contributions and all other contributions e been paid in, the whole proceeds will be ided up and the allotted shares distributed the contributing and needy parishes. In er words each poor benefice will get a stantial bonus to encourage it in doing its t for its own clergyman. It is quite clear t some external stimulus like this must be en to increase local effort if the fund is to ome stronger and largely useful. Since hin three years the sum received in a block nt by this diocese has been reduced by one f, we shall clearly soon find that it has come tter grief unless a remedy is at once applied.

Yours truly,

JNO. GODSON.

bby Folville Vicarage.

Obituary.

The Rev. Herbert Lock,
Vicar of Diseworth.

Born Sept. 23rd, 1862; Died March 17th, 1902.

On March 17th there passed away one who without wide attainments or special abilities or popular gifts won a high place in the regard of those to whom he ministered as well as of his fellow clergy, solely by a singularly unselfish devotion that marked both his disposition and his work.

When Herbert Lock came into the diocese as Curate of St. Margaret's, Leicester, in 1889, he had before him a sphere of work admirably adapted to test the quality of a man's service. To his fellow-workers he seemed at first to bring to bear a conscience almost too exacting, to make it too exclusive an authority, and to burden himself unnecessarily with a rigid application of rules: they learned to see in this severe self-discipline the expression of complete self-surrender to the law of Christ and the good of his fellows. With a great trust in God and in man and an outlook on life that was almost pathetic in its childlike simplicity, he sought out just those persons, those haunts, those streets and courts which seemed most neglected and least touched by the prevailing methods. Among the lodging houses, where there seemed least room for hope, and with the outcast and the drunkard he brought a courage and a persistency that were not without visible reward, and that might have served as an incentive to many who in some respects would have been regarded as better equipped for the work.

In 1894 he accepted the living of Diseworth, and by quiet loving labour won the deep attachment and regard of his parishioners during a charge of no more than 8 years. His was emphatically individual work; the patient unsparing devotion won life after life.

In memory of a brother he had been accumulating a fund destined he hoped at some future time to be the means of raising a Church of St. Joseph to which that brother's name might be attached; but impaired health made the realisation of his hope improbable and he acquiesced in what must have been a great disappointment. One of the last acts of his life was to obtain the sanction of the subscribers to the diversion of the fund towards the further restoration of his own Church at Diseworth. He had but just approved the plans for the work there when his call came.

Careful in matters of business he left the value of the living some £50 better than he found it. He had borne for twelve months a severe illness with fortitude and unfailing brightness. His short life marked by simplicity and self-austerity was altogether unworldly. Lowly in heart and patient in tribulation but always hopeful, cheerful, gentle—a good and faithful servant he has entered into the joy of his Lord.

Deo in Ecclesia sua Petriburgensi," and bear the arms of the See of Peterborough. The silver gilt service at Wellingborough is composed of the same number of pieces, but is slightly more massive, weighing about 256 ounces. The pieces are inscribed, "To the Towne Chvrch of Wellingborow, The gvift of Sr. Pavl Pyndar, Kt., 1634," and bear the arms of the donor.

Another type of cup became common in the middle of the seventeenth century, of much heavier design, with bowls of great capacity and clumsy form; the stems thick, often with circular or plate shaped knops, and plain flattish feet. There are many cups of this form throughout the county. At All Saints', in Northampton, for instance, there are a pair of cups of this design. Each is over 10 inches high, the bowl is 6 inches deep, 5¾ inches in diameter at the lip and slightly less at the base; the weight being over 26 ounces. This cup would hold about three bottles of wine. It is probable that it was the custom at this period for the communicants to drink considerably more wine when they received the sacrament than at the present day, when half-a-bottle is sufficient for 50 or 60 persons.

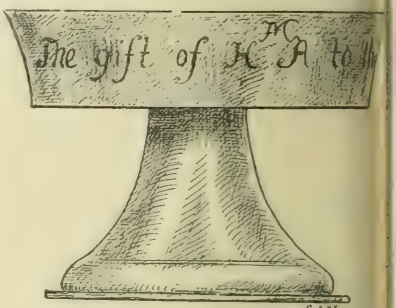
At Cold Ashby and Ravensthorp are pretty little cups, which were made in 1651 and 1661 respectively; these have small conical bowls, almost flat bases and baluster stems, with plain spreading feet. At Loddington are two uncommon and interesting vessels which were made in 1671. One is like a very small porringer or caudle-cup, with two handles; it is 3⅜ inches in height, and 3½ inches in diameter at the top, and weighs about 6 ounces; it is enriched with well-designed flowers in repousée work. The other cup is made mazer fashion, is only 1⅝ inches in height, and the bowl is 3⅜ inches in diameter, it is slightly heavier than the other vessel and is ornamented in the same manner with flowers of repousée work. There is a neat little cover paten and cup at Tiffield made in 1689, of

TIFFIELD.

somewhat unusual design, but perfectly pla... The maker's mark is I D, with a dagger ... tween the letters, in plain shield.

We find some sixteen patens or ... holders, and two or three cups in the coun... all much alike, awkard in design, and rou... in workmanship. These were all made ab... 1682, the maker's mark being E B in a hea... shaped shield, and have not been assaye... this E B was therefore probably a local silv... smith, living either at Northampton or Pet... borough. These patens are all found in ... northern part of the county, between Nor... ampton and Islip, and between Clay Co... and Cogenhoe.

At Plumpton there is a curious little vess... made in 1684, which might serve either a ... cup or paten, but which is now used as ... latter; it is 6¼ inches high, the diameter ... the bowl and foot is 3¾ inches, and it weig... about eight and a half ounces. It has a la... cylindrical bowl with slight lip and flat ba... the stem is somewhat thick, and spreads ou... form the foot. Round the edge of this pa...



PLUMPTON.

is engraved the legend "The Gift of Hora... Moore, Esq., and Anne his wife to the Co... munion table of Plumpton, 1693."

Pattishall possesses a very handsome co... munion service, consisting of silver gilt pat... cup, flagon, bread-holder, and alms di... This was presented by Duchess Dudley ... 1663, who also gave a set each to Kenilwor... Ashow, Leek Wootton, Monk's Kirby, B... ford, and Stoneleigh in Warwickshire, and ... St Giles' in London. At Castle Ashby the ... is a handsome service, entirely gilt, which w... made in 1713, by that celebrated artist Pa... de Lamerie, "att ye Golden Ball," Windm... Street, St. James. This consists of two patens ... two cups, a flagon, a bread-holder, and ... alms dish. This set is very handsome a... massive, but it is quite plain; it was given ... Castle Ashby Church by Mary Countess ... Northampton.

From this time the form of the patens an... cups degenerates very much; indeed nothi... can well be less artistic than the vessels ma... during the eighteenth century, and the ea... part of the nineteenth. The cups about 18... frequently have large bell-shaped bowls, ...

them, in many instances, to refer to *Baker* and *Bridges* for more information:—

D.—Demilance. L.—Light Horseman.
H.—Hakbutter. P.—Pikeman.
A.—Archer. A.F.—Archer on Foot.
B.—Billman. B.F.—Billman on Foot.

1559.

Blencowe, John	Marston	L.
Butler, Mr.	Aston	L.
Catesby, Mr.	Woodford	B.
Chambers, Mr.	King's Sutton	B. F.
Chauncye, Mr.	Edgcote	L. A. F.
Croswell, Mr.	Newbottle	A.
Danvers, Mrs.	Culworth	B.
Dormer, Jeffrey, Gent.	Farthingho	L.
Foxe, Mr.	Chacombe	L.
Foxley, Mr.	Foxley in Blakesley	A.
Gifford, Will., Gent.	Steane	A. F.
Gyfford, Mr.	Thorp Mandeville	P.
Love, Mrs.	Aynhoe	B.
Lovet, Thomas	Astwell	2 L.
Marshall, George	Evenleye	A. F.
Mathew, Mr.	Bradden	P.
Odell, Fulke	Thenford	L.
Palmer, Ralph	Newbottle	H.
Pargitter, Mr.	Greatworth	A. F.
Robyns, Thomas	Newbottle	A.
Shakerley, Rowland, Gent.	Aynhoe	L.
Taylor, Thomas	Middleton or Overthorpe	A.
Wakelyn, Mr.	Eydon	B.
Washington, Mr.	Sulgrave	A. F.
Watts, Mr.	Blakesley	A.
Wilks, William	Middleton or Overthorpe	L.
Yorke, George	Brackley	B.

1583.

Andrewe, Thomas, Esq.	Charwelton	D. L.
Andrewes, Mr.	Harleston	L.
Atterbury, Mr.	Gt. Houghton	L.
Barnard, Mr.	. . . . .	L.
Blinko, Mr.	Marston	L.
Braye, Mr.	Steane	L.
Britten, Mr.	. . . . .	L.
Bryan, Mr.	Northampton	L.
Burnabye, Mr.	Watford	L.
Butler, Mr.	Preston Capes	L.
Butler, Mr.	Aston-le-Walls	L.
Buttrye, Mr.	Marston and Grimsby	L.
Catesby, Mr.	Woodford	L.
Cave, Roger, Esq.	Drayton, Daventry	D. L.
Chauncye, William, Esq.	Edgcote	L.
Clarke, Mr.	Potters Pury	L.
Cope, Edward, Esq.	Canons Ashby	L.

Crispe, Augustine	Boughton	L.
Craswell, Mr.	Newbottle (?)	L.
Danvers, Mr.	Culworth	L.
Dormer, Mr.	Farthingho	L.
Dryden, John, Gent.	Canons Ashby	L.
Eaton, Mr.	Brockhall (?)	L.
Farmer, George, Esq.	Easton	D. L.
Farmer, Jerom, Mr.	Towcester	L.
Foxe, Mr.	Chacombe	L.
Foxley, Mr.	Foxley in Blakesley	L.
Freeman, Jo., Mr.	Grt. Billing (?)	L.
Furtho, Mr.	Furtho	L.
Gates, Mr.	G . . . ton	L.
Goodale, Mr.	. . . . .	L.
Harbye, Mr.	Adston	L.
Harlowe, Mr.	. . . . .	
Hensman, G.	Northampton	L.
Hicklinge, Mr.	Greens Norton	L.
Isham, Eusaby, Esq.	Braunston	D.
Kerton, Mr.	Thorpe Mandeville	L.
Knightley, Sir Ric.	Fawsley	D.
Knightley, Val., Esq.	Fawsley	L.
Knightley, Thos., Mr.	Preston Capes	L.
Kyrtland, Mr.	Northampton	L.
Lovet, Thomas, Esq.	Astwell	D. L.
Mathew, Rob., Mr.	Whitfield or Bradden (?)	L.
Mersar, Mr.	Northampton	L.
Morgan, Thos., Esq.	Heyford	D.
Nycoll, Mr.	Bo	L.
Odell, Mr.	Thenford	L.
Onley, Thos., Mr.	Charwelton	L.
Osbern, Mr.	. . . . .	L.
Pargitter, Mr.	Greatworth	L.
Raynford, Mr.	Northampton	L.
Reade, Mr.	Cottesbroke (?)	L.
Saunders, Edw., Mr.	Brixworth	L.
Saunders, Francis, Esq.	Welford and Brixworth	D.
Shepard, Mr.	Northampton	L.
Shugburghe, Mrs.	Pitsford	L.
Spencer, Sir John	Althorp	D.
Spencer, Willm., Mr.	Everdon	L.
Tanfylde, Mr.	Gayton	L.
Wake, Mr.	Salcey	L.
Waklyn, Mr.	Eydon	L.
Watts, Will., Mr.	Blakesley	L.
Worley, Mr.	Dodford	L.

1584.

Atterbury, John, Gent.	Great Houghton	L.
Catesby, Thomas, Esq.	Whiston	L.
Clarke, Willm., Gent.	Potters Pury	L.
Farmer, George, Esq.	Easton	D. L.
Furthoe, Thom., Esq.	Furtho	L.
Harlowe, Rob., Gent.	. . . . (Wim: H:)	L.
Osborn, Maurice, Gent.	Piddington & Haccleton	L.
Wake, John, Esq.	Salcey	L.

Of the families here named, I believe only three—none of them on their original soil—had authenticated Conquest pedigrees—Wake, Knightley,[1] and Odell. (There is doubt about the early part of the Spencer[2] pedigree.) We should do the first injustice if we did not trace him back to the illustrious Hereward, the Saxon lord of Bourne, and to his grandfather. The 334 quarterings of the second testify to the rank and opulence of their alliances. The third family terminated within a few years in an individual who descended by a line of great landowners from Walter Flandrensis, and united to a benevolent disposition and refined mind a romantic admiration of the French Revolution! But the pages of *Baker* and *Bridges* shew many of the others to have been well descended. Only two men—Furtho, of Furtho, and Foxley, of Foxley—lived on the primary soil of their families. The 280 years which have elapsed since that period have extinguished nearly all the families named, at least in the male line; or, if not extinct, they are represented by men in a situation very inferior to that of their ancestors, perhaps toiling for their daily bread on the acres then owned by their families.

In the "Boke of Harnes" there are no names of commissioners after "us"; but as these papers came together, it is probable that the first and second persons named below were the commissioners:—

Sir John Spencer, Kt., Sheriff five times; M.P., County of Northampton, 1553-4, 1557-8-9; Commissioner of Musters, 1559 (?). Died 1586, aged 63.

Sir Valentine Knightley, Kt., Sheriff, 1554-5; Commissioner of Musters, 1559 (?); died 1586, aged . . .

Sir John Spencer, Kt., M.P. for Northampton 1571-2; Commissioner of Musters, 1583-4; Sheriff, 1590-1; died 1599, aged 52.

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1 Not the case. See Fawsley, page 102, in this volume.—A.D.

2 The Spencers have been proved to be originally from the yeoman class at Badby, where they were in the sixteenth century regarded as "new men." The story of their descent from the le Despencers is a fabrication of the heralds.—A.D.

Sir Richard Knightley, Kt., Sheriff, 1567-8 and 1580-1; Commissioner of Musters, 1583-4; M.P. for Northampton, 1584-5-6, and for County of Northampton, 1591-2 and 1596-7; died 1615, aged 82.

In 1583 John Mercer was Mayor of Northampton, and in 1584 John Hensman.

From the non-appearance of the six burgesses of Northampton, with the Mayor at their head, and the added memorandum, we may conclude that there was some political reason for their absence. This is corroborated by the records of Leicester. That town was ordered, in 1583, to supply two demilances and four light horsemen. "The authorities were evidently desirous of avoiding the heavy tax which a compliance with this order would render necessary, and they were, besides, jealous of the interference of the county gentry with their local influence. The Mayor accordingly summoned his brethren to meet him at the Guildhall, to decide what they should do in the emergency. They agreed to write to Mr. Parkins, the recorder, for advice. His answer is not known, but the conclusion of the affair was that a few of the leading members of the Corporation were compelled to bear the charge among them. . . . The authorities of the borough thus subsequently escaped the intervention of those of the county of . . ."—*Thompson's History of Leicester*, pp. 261-5.

The list of dymilances, etc., was used for a second "view," for at the first muster, in September, Mr. Braye's and Mr. Kerton's horses were furnished; but at the next muster, Mr. Kerton's man was absent and Mr. Braye was dead. He died in October, 1583.

The state of public affairs, both on the other side of the Tweed and on the Continent, at the time to which these documents refer, was such as to cause great anxiety to the Queen and her advisers, and to render necessary the efficiency of the army and navy. England had recently asserted its independence of Rome. Flanders came under

the Spanish crown in 1555, and in 1580 declared and gained its independence. Queen Elizabeth assisted it. Philip II., a zealous supporter of the Pontiff, came to the crown of Spain in 1556, and shortly after the last of these documents came the critical hour for England—the Armada.

One of the means of spreading the alarm of war was by beacon fires, and there are many items in old accounts relative to these beacons. Often there were cressets on the church tower. No doubt, if the accounts of those parishes which contain high points of land, or high church towers, exist, and were examined, they would afford interesting items connected with the beacons and cressets.

APPENDIX A.

By favour of the Rev. C. Hill, of Culworth, I am able to give an interesting illustration of the subject from the Churchwardens' Accounts of that parish. These accounts begin in 1531, and contain many interesting entries. They are very neatly written down to about 1590, and after that gradually become less well written.

1536.

Thus leyd out for ye Towne Souldyer :—

Fyrst for whyte cote for his cote . . .		xvijd. ob.
It' for a horse	viijs	
It' for a brydyll a spoure and a gurth . .		vijd. ob.
It' for gurdyl and ale at ys settyng forth . .		ijd.
It' for new helvyng of ye byll		iijd.
It' ye soldyer had wth hy' towards ys costs .	vjs.	viijd.
It' for a pere of bots		xviijd.
It' for me'dying of hys sallet and hys sadle .		iijd.
It' iij yards of canvas		xvd.
It' for lynynge for his dubblet		xid.
It' for a lether skyne for a gerke' . . .		xd.
It' ij dose' of poynts		iijd.
It' for makey'ge off ys dublet and jerke' . .		viijd.
It' for makey'ge of his cote		iiijd.
It' he had to hys costs at home		ijd.
It' for me'dynge of ye towne harnes . . .		iiijd.
It' for a sadle	ijs	iiijd.
It' for dressynge of ye skin for ys jerke' . .		ijd.

1539.

For the Towne soldyer :—		
It' a sheffe of arowys	iiijs.	viijd.
It' for a sadell brydyll gurths and sturrop lethers	iiijs.	vid.
It' for a chape to the swerd		ijd.
It' dd to the soldyer		vjd.
It' for a bowe	ijs.	iiijd.
It' for a horse	xviijs.	xd.
It' for the soldyers prest mony		viijd.
It' to Wodward for caryege for the hernesse .		d.
It' for a swerd gyrdill		jd. ob.
It' for a dozen off poynts		jd. ob.
It' for a dager		vjd.
It' for ye dyscharge of the kyngs caryege . .		xijd.
It' for a hempy' halter		jd.
	33s.	ijd.[1]

Helve (Saxon).—Handle.

Sallet or Salade.—A helmet, of which there were many varieties, at different times, and for different troops. The common headpiece of archers and billmen.

Jerkin.—A leathern loose overcoat.

Dubblet.—The same as the white coat, padded and lined; his usual outer garment.

Points.—Short ties or laces.

Sheaf of Arrows.—Twenty-four.

Chape.—The metal cover of the bottom of the scabbard.

Prest Money.—Money given to the soldier when he was bound to serve. Bounty.

King's Caryege.—This term continued though a queen reigned. It occurs several times in the accounts. The Crown had an ancient right to take horses and carts for the conveyance of any of the Royal family or for troops and war material, including timber for ship-building. By degrees great abuses arose out of this right.

By an act of the twelfth year of Charles II., this right was entirely abolished; but it was immediately found that the Act went too far, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth year an Act was passed re-enacting the right of the Crown to the service of carts and horses, under certain conditions.

[1] It should be xid.—H.D.]

APPENDIX B.

"The names of the nobility, gentry, and others who contributed to the defence of this country at the time of the Spanish invasion, in 1581, with a brief account of their spirited and patriotic conduct on that occasion. London: Printed for Leigh & Sotheby, York-street, Covent-garden. 1798." The editor of this pamphlet (1798) states that his lists are taken from a manuscript written in 1588, but does not state where the manuscript was at the time. He prefixes an introduction, in which he states that the lists "are now laid before the public to point out the dangers which threaten us, and to stimulate our fellow-subjects at this awful crisis to follow the example of their ancestors," etc. No name is given as author of the introduction.

NORTHAMPTON.

		£			£
February.	Edward Watson	25		William Saunders	50
March.	Thomas Tresham	25		John Murden	25
	Martyn Wright	25		Edward Hazelrigg	25
	Thomas Martyn	50		Gilbert Pickeringe	25
	Augustine Crispe	25		William Baldwyn	25
	Edmunde Elmes	50		John Wake	25
	John Fraunces	50		Richard Worsley	25
	William Hicklyn	25		Robert Matthew	25
	Thomas Moone	25	June.	John Reade	25
	William Samwell	25		Robert Manley	25
	Robert Pargitor	25		Ambrose Agarde	25
	John Stafford	50		William Lambe	25
	George Lynne	50		Thomas Hacke	50
	Johan Shugborow, *vidua*	25		Erasmus Dredon	50
	Edward Dudley	25		William Kinsman	25
	Arthur Brooke	25		John Kirkland	25
	Thobie Chaucie	50		Robert Wingfield	25
	Thomas Maydwell	25		John Heward	25
	Owen Rudgdale	25		Samuel Danvers	25
	William Trust	25		Stephen Harvey	25
	Albon Butler	25		Thomas Croswell	25
	William Hughes	25		John Hensman	25
April.	Thomas Kirton	50		John Mercer	25
	Henrie Pratt	25		George Poulton	25
	George Sherley	50		Frauncis Ashbye	50
	Anthonie Jenkinson	50		John Bryan	25
	John Brudnell	50		William Margetts	25
Maye.	John Isham	25		John Neale	50
	John Freeman	50	July.	James Cleypole	50
	Robert Osborne	25		Robert Tredwaie	25
	Roger Charnocke	25		James Kendricke	25
	Leonard Barker	25	August.	Matthew Robinson	25

Unfortunately, in this list no residences or styles are given, though in the lists for some of the other counties both are given, as in Nottinghamshire:—

> "Sir Thomas Stanhopp, Miles.
> John Thorney, of Fenton, Armiger.
> Richard Hanley, of Wylforth, Generosus."

The residences of many of the persons named in the Northamptonshire list will be found in the list of residences given in the previous papers. It is evident that locality did not govern the order of their contributions, persons at opposite ends of the county contributing in the same month.

The Dower House, Fawsley.

FAWSLEY.

FAWSLEY is situated in the extreme south-west of Northamptonshire, about three miles from the boundary of Warwickshire, in a country rich in reminiscences of the Civil War, half-way between the battlefields of Edgehill and Naseby, which may fairly be reckoned as its beginning and its end. Perhaps the prettiest approach is from the Daventry side, where an archway designed by Wyatt leads into a large and picturesque wood, well known as Badby Wood to those who hunt with the Pytchley, and I am afraid not unjustly regarded as the worst place to get away from in the whole country. Many a good run has been seen from here, and many distinguished persons have joined in the chase, beginning with Charles I., who was hunting a buck in Fawsley Park when news was brought to him of the near approach of the enemy's forces. He broke up that night from Daventry, where his army was then stationed, and began the fatal march which ended in the disastrous field of Naseby.

In the park, at the foot of a hill, embowered in stately elms, stands the picturesque ruins of an old manor house, known as the Dower House. There is no record or tradition of the date of the building of the Old Lodge, as it is sometimes called, but the beautiful twisted chimneys would seem to point to the early years of the sixteenth century.[1] It was never occupied as a dower house after

[1] It is the solitary example of twisted brick chimneys in Northamptonshire.

the death of Anne, Lady Knightley (widow of the last Sir Richard), in 1702, and has not been inhabited at all since the end of the eighteenth century. Tradition has it that at times a horseman issues from the ruins, and rides round the Park, winding his horn. Needless to say, the village people shun the place after dark.

A little further on, from the top of a gentle eminence, you look down upon the house, a long irregular pile built of the rich brown stone of the country with white stone facings, standing on a sort of peninsula, with water on both sides, on which the grebe, the pochard, and the golden-eye find sanctuary and breed. It is backed by rising ground, which, being covered with trees, shelters it from the west. On the south, terraces, which in summer are a blaze of colour, slope down to the water.

At a short distance east of the house, and almost at the point of the peninsula, stands, buried among trees, the little church. Part of it is as old as the reign of King John, but it has been altered and restored at various times, till no special architectural beauties remain. Like the church at Brington, where the Spencer family are buried, it may be said to present a complete series of the changing fashions in monuments for the last five hundred years. Beginning with one or two fine brasses, we come to a magnificent altar-tomb in memory of Sir Richard Knightley, who died in 1534, through several hideous erections in the debased taste of the later seventeenth century to the more dignified and simple conceptions of Westmacott and Gibson; and ending with the stained-glass window and the lectern, which commemorate later generations.

Approaching the front door of the house, the visitor is at once struck by a very handsome old bay window, and on entering finds himself, after passing through a small entrance, in the old hall, by far the most interesting feature of the house. A handsome carved fireplace, ornamented with coats of arms, is opposite the window, and above the latter is a small room, which was formerly reached

by a staircase in the angle between the window and the hall; but this, unfortunately, was destroyed many years ago, so that the room is practically inaccessible. Tradition says that here the secret printing-press used for the Martin Marprelate tracts was kept; but tradition, I think, must be at fault, since Sir Richard Knightley himself says at his trial that it was kept in the nursery, and this tiny apartment could hardly have been appropriated to that purpose.

The hall itself was built by Sir Edmund Knightley between the years 1537 and 1543. It is 51 ft. long by 23 ft. wide, and 43 ft. in height. An old family history says of it: "It is very lofty, roofed with Irish oak, finely carved, and ornamented on the sides. It is said the timber of that country will not bear a spider, and I am apt to believe it is true, for I never saw a cobweb upon the roof, though so high that nothing could molest them"—a remark which may still be made with truth.

In Domesday Book, Fawsley was entered as belonging to the King, but ere long some portion of the land passed into the hands of the prior and convent of Daventry, as when King John granted the manor to one Hugh Russell, he was previously resident here as lessee for life of "a capital messuage of three virgates of land" from the said prior. It subsequently passed by purchase to Simon, son of Robert FitzWalter, of Daventry, who was summoned by King Edward III. to prove his right to the privileges attached to the manor. A jury, duly empanelled, decided in Simon's favour, but reproved him for having neither pillory nor tumbril (ducking-stool) for the correction of offenders against the assize of bread and beer, nor a gallows for the execution of felons.

The manor thus passed through a variety of hands before its purchase in 1416 by Richard Knightley, whose family derived their name from Chenistelei, now called Knightley, in Staffordshire, of which their traditional ancestor, Rainald, was mesne lord at the Domesday Survey. This Rainald, an adherent of the Conqueror, a Norman

baron of Bailleul, was the younger brother of Warin, Sheriff of Shropshire, and appears to have been a person of considerable note. According to Ordericus, he took part (in 1118) in a Norman expedition against the Moors in Spain, and the next year, the King, suspecting him of favouring the cause of William, the son of Robert Courthose, and nephew of King Henry, followed him to his castle of Renouard, and burnt it to the ground. After this we hear no more of him, for, says Mr. Eyton in his *Antiquities of Shropshire*, "This man, whose Fief, while he yet remained in England, was vast enough to grace any Earldom, whose after name, as a Crusader, was of European rather than provincial stature, whose prestige or whose pride was so great that he dared to confront the ablest monarch of the age in his own court—this man has received no better treatment at the hands of our antiquaries and heralds than that his name should figure at the head of two respectable county pedigrees." Even from this position he has now been dislodged by a radical revolutionist in the matter of pedigrees, for it has been proved that this Rainald died without issue.

William de Knightley, the next name on the long pedigree, is a little doubtful; but Nicholas, who bore the sinister name of Maucovenant, is proved to have held Knightley by the service of a castle-guard at the Castle of Oswestry. His grandson, Jordan de Knightley, is sufficiently authenticated as witnessing a deed still preserved in the family archives, and from that moment the descent is undoubted. The Knightleys of Knightley and Gnosall seem to have played their part in the turbulent doings of their times; among them, one, Robert de Knightley, who fought beside Simon de Montfort, and was afterwards accused of all manner of misdeeds—wasting woods and sacking houses, spoiling fish-ponds, and slaying bucks and does. But it is not until the family settled at Fawsley the year before Agincourt that anything definite is known about them, and even then the evidence is but

scanty, as absolutely no letters have been preserved. The purchaser of Fawsley was also the first to serve in Parliament as one of the knights of the shire (8 Hen. V., 1420).

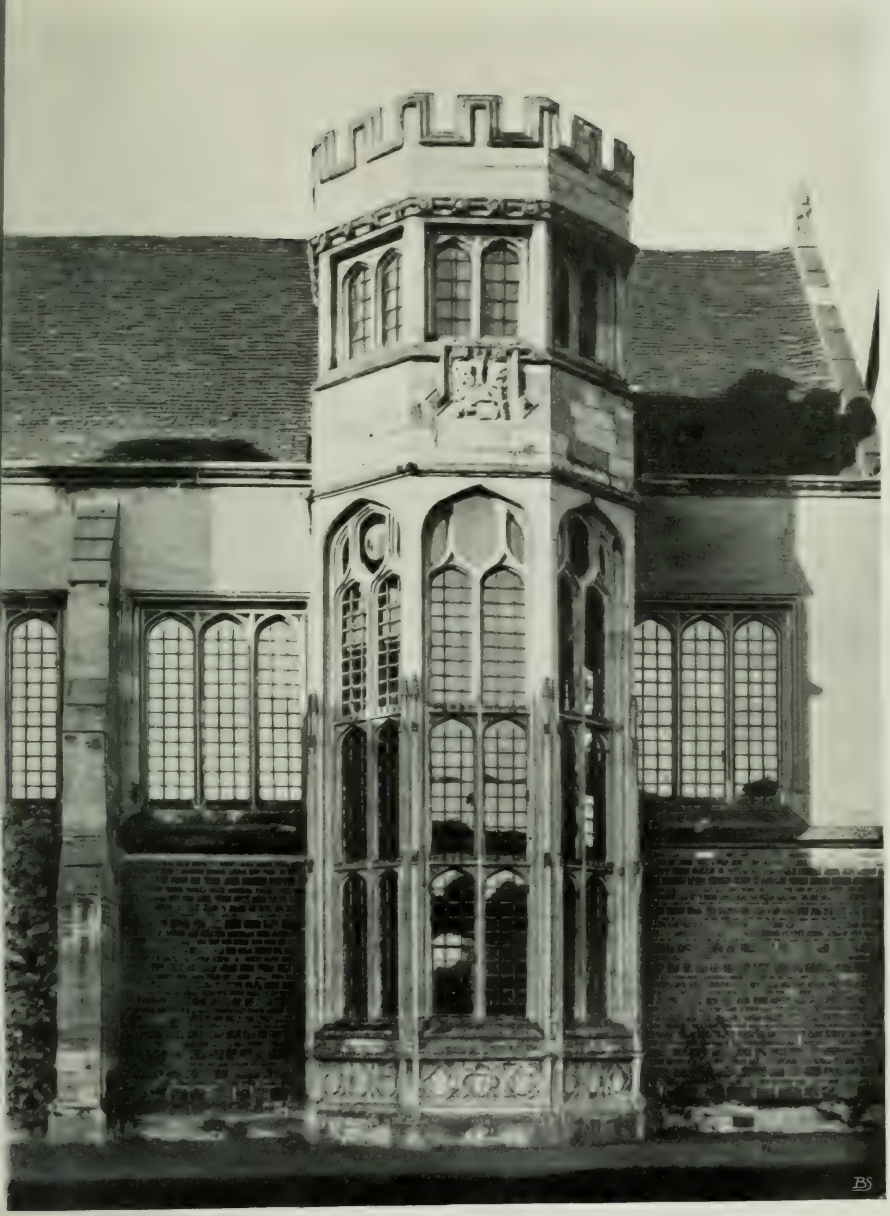
In the next century, a Richard Knightley married Joan Skenard or Skinnerton, of Alderton, who brought in a great number of the quarterings which are still included in the Knightley shield. Their only daughter married Sir William Spencer, of Althorp, of whom there are curious entries in the records of the Star Chamber. The Bishop of Lincoln having taken upon himself the reformation of Sir William's ways, Sir William suspects Sir Richard Knightley and his son, Edmund Knightley, of procuring the Bishop's interference, and set upon Edmund, who, in "God's peace," was going out of a "tavern in Chepe, called the Horsehed," and laying his hand upon his dagger, demanded: "'Edmund Knightley, what communicacion hast thou had w^t^ the Busshopp of Lincoln concerning my vicious living?' To the which your said oratour (Edmund Knightley) answered, 'My lorde of Lincoln can reporte the trouth let him be juge.' And therew^t^ the said Sir William said to your suppliant thies words: 'Thou art a knave a precious knave and a wretche.' And your suppliant awnsered and said, 'I am a gentelman and no knave.' And therew^t^ the said Sir William said, 'Doest thou *thou* me nay then thou shalt have a blou.'" Gowns were cast aside and swords drawn in the fray. Sir William's sword "did light upon your said oratour's bakke and cut his gown in divers places." The Bill goes on to relate how Sir William and his servants killed a buck with his greyhounds in the park at Fawsley, in despite of the keeper, whose bow-string a servant of Sir William's cut with his over-ready "swerde." And then the knight himself dismounted, and would have struck the keeper "if he had not been let by his own servantes" calling him knave, and saying that in one month "he should have twenty more bucks killed and his eeys put in his purse."

Sir Edmund Knightley, who succeeded in 1537, the

builder of the great hall, married Ursula de Vere, sister of John Vere Earl of Oxford, and was one of the Commissioners appointed for the visitation of the monasteries. He and his brother Commissioners pleaded hard, but in vain, for the neighbouring house of Catesby, which, say they, "we founde in very perfete order, the priores, a sure wyse, discrete, and very religious woman with ix nunnys under her obedjence, as relygious and devout and with as good obedyence as we have time paste seen or belyke shall see." Tradition will have it that Sir Edmund had a *penchant* for the fair prioress; be that as it may, the King's Highness charged the Commissioners with receiving bribes for their so favourable report, and Catesby Abbey, like so many others, was swept away.

Sir Edmund Knightley's nephew, Sir Richard, who succeeded in 1566, married, for his first wife, Mary Fermor, and for his second, Lady Elizabeth Seymour, daughter of the Protector, Duke of Somerset (uncle of King Edward VI., being brother to his mother, Jane Seymour). Richard Fermor, Sir Richard's father-in-law, was persecuted by Henry VIII. and Cromwell, and stripped of all his property, apparently for no other crime than that of sending 8d. and two shirts to one Nicholas Ghayne, formerly his confessor, closely imprisoned at that time. This may have accounted for Sir Richard's violent opposition to the Church. He threw in his lot with the Puritan party, who about that time began to be very prominent in the State, and took an active part in the production of those violent libels on the bishops and clergy of the day, known as the Martin Marprelate Tracts.

Mr. Arber, in his interesting "Sketch of the Martin Marprelate Controversy," says that in November, 1588, a private printing-press was set up in the house at Fawsley, and the tract called the "Epitome" printed there. The press only remained at Fawsley a short time, and then was removed to another house belonging to Sir Richard at Norton, and then to Coventry, where it was seized. Sir



Bay Window of Hall, Fawsley.

Richard was brought before the Star Chamber, and fined £2,000, but Archbishop Whitgift appears to have interceded for him, and the fine was never enforced. In 1609, however, we find him writing a piteous appeal to the Earl of Salisbury to beg that it may not be exacted, it having been granted by the King to Lord Hayes, for "not expecting any charge of this nature, I have long since so disposed of my estate to my Children as that little wh remaynes is only a verie sparing maintenance." He was one of the "divers gentlemen of good accompte" who were present at the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, as well as one of the four knights who bore the canopy at her funeral in Peterborough Cathedral.

Lady Elizabeth, his wife, who like most of the high-born ladies of her day had passed through troublous times in her youth, is said to have been very extravagant, and to have contributed much to the impoverishment of the family which took place about this time. She seems to have lived a great deal at Court, as her name frequently appears in the long list of New Year's gifts to Queen Elizabeth, which must have been a heavy tax on the courtiers of those days. The Queen was also godmother to one of Lady Elizabeth's numerous sons, as appears by an entry in the account of the Lord Treasurer for money distributed to the nurse and midwife, and for sending a gentleman usher, "one groome of the Chamber, and one groome of the Wardrobe riding in haste from St. James's into Warwyckeshire to the christening." Sir Christopher Hatton was sponsor to another of Sir Richard and Lady Elizabeth's children, as appears by a charming letter he wrote to her brother, Lord Hertford, asking him to act as his substitute. There are, among the Hatfield MSS., a number of letters addressed by Sir Richard and Lady Elizabeth to Sir Robert Cecil and to the Earl of Essex. Writing to the latter, Lady Elizabeth begs his acceptance of "a Glase of presarved Quynces and to boxes of consarve of quynces, for My Lady and you, desyring to know how you bothe lyke

them. You need not fear the cleyng of them, for they are my owne labour." She seems to have been very proud of her preserves, for she sends some also to Sir Robert Cecil, reminding him how much "my Lord Treasurer, your father, ever esteemed the consarve of quynces which I made and sent him."

Sir Richard again got into difficulties in 1604-5 by signing, together with his son, Sir Valentine, a petition against the suspending of the Nonconformist ministers of Northamptonshire. James I. seems to have taken this petition extremely ill, and in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* on the Manuscripts of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, there are some interesting letters as to the submission all the signatories were compelled to make. Sir Richard was sentenced to pay £10,000, and was deprived of all his posts.

The next, and perhaps the most interesting, member of the family was Sir Richard's grandson, Richard, who succeeded on the death of his uncle Sir Valentine, and carried on the Puritan tradition. He entered Parliament in November, 1621, and was returned at each succeeding election till his death in 1639, except the one of February 1625-26, when he was one of those who were made Sheriffs to keep them out of the way. The only MS. at Fawsley, a *Journal of Parliamentary Proceedings* from May 17th to August 12th, 1625, which has been printed by the Camden Society, is probably due to him. He was a very intimate friend of that most injured man and true patriot, Sir John Eliot, who addresses to him a number of interesting and in some cases very touching letters. The originals, alas! have long vanished, but copies were preserved, and are to be seen in the letter-book of Sir John Eliot, "printed for Earl St. Germans and for private circulation, 1882." Sir John takes the greatest interest in his friend's health and well-being, reproaching him for not taking sufficient exercise, and urging him "for others to hunt, for others to hawk, for others to take the benefit of

the fields." "Do it for me," continues Eliot, writing from the Tower, "that cannot do it for myself, and in your profit and advantage my satisfaction shall be rendered. I know I need not counsel you, who have Abraham and the Prophets; but yet, one coming from the dead, who by privation knows the benefit of exercise, which God appoints for the recreation of man, may have some credit more than ordinary to make some light impressions upon the mind."

In November, 1625, Mr. Knightley being one of those employed to carry out the disarmament of the Popish Lords, "there fell out a brabble," writes Lord Carlisle to the Duke of Buckingham, "at the Lord Vaux, his house in Northamptonshire, wherein there were some blows exchanged between the said Lord and Mr. Knightley, a justice of the peace, who assisted the Deputy Lieutenant in that action." The affair seems to have created a considerable sensation. It was brought before the King and Council, and finally referred to the Star Chamber; and when Mr. Knightley found himself pricked for sheriff, and "saw the rest of his company, he was like to have lost his sense." The next year, for resisting with others Charles I.'s forced loan, he was removed into confinement either in Wiltshire or Hampshire. The recalcitrants were then brought before the Council, and Mr. Knightley, for refusing to make submission on his knees for language used before the Council, was sent to the Fleet. He was, however, set at liberty in the following January, 1627-28, and immediately returned to Parliament against a nominee of the Court. The intimate friend of Pym, Hampden, and Hazelrigge, it was at Fawsley, and at Broughton Castle the house of his kinsman Lord Saye and Sele, that many of the plans for limiting the King's prerogative were laid. Mr. Knightley was active in resisting the collecting of ship money, and again and again in the State papers we find him stirring up his neighbours to follow his example.

Another Richard, a cousin, succeeded to the property and traditions of the family, and marrying Hampden's

daughter, took as active a part as his predecessor in the constitutional struggle. He was first returned for the Short Parliament, and was afterwards re-elected for the Long Parliament, which for so many years ruled the destinies of England. He signed the Solemn League and Covenant, but was not willing to go all lengths with Cromwell, refused to aid in the plans for trying the King, and was driven out in Pride's Purge, remaining a prisoner for a fortnight in the hands of the army. He might have been Speaker, had he willed it, of Richard Cromwell's Parliament, but ended by sitting as one of the Council of State which recalled Charles II., and at the Coronation of that monarch was created a Knight of the Bath.

With him the interesting annals of the family end, and for nearly two hundred years the Knightleys seem to have been little more than country squires of the usual type. That type, however, found its best example, it may with truth be said, in that model of an old English country gentleman, Sir Charles Knightley, whose memory is still green in the county, which he and his son between them represented in Parliament for fifty-eight years.[1]

LOUISA M. KNIGHTLEY.

[1] 1834-1892.

THE ROYAL FORESTS.

Je suys le Cerf, a cause de ma teste
Par les grecz fuz Ceratum surnommé
Car en beauté j'excede toute beste,
Dont a bon droict ilz m'ont ainsi nommé.
Pour le plaisir des Roys je suis donné.

Jacques du Fouilloux, 1561.

A FOREST is best described in the old words of Manwood[1]—"a certaine Territorie of wooddy grounds and fruitfull pastures, priviledged for wild beasts and foules of Forest, Chase, and Warren to rest and abide in, in the safe protection of the King, for his princely delight and pleasure." It was under the jurisdiction of special officers and courts, with its own elaborate laws and severe penalties for transgressors. It is difficult now to imagine the suffering this entailed on the inhabitants of the forest districts, where the crops were entirely at the mercy of the animals, to be wasted and trampled under foot. Probably, however, the greatest hardships came from the oppressive tyranny of the officers, who had supreme control, not only over "vert and venery," but also in matters of local administration.

The Saxon kings had already reserved large tracts of country for hunting, but it was William I. who largely extended them. "He loved the wild deer as though he had been their father. Whosoever should slay hart or hind man should blind him." So much discontent was created by the hated forest laws that John, in Magna Charta, was forced to give way to the outcry, and

1 *Forest Laws*, 1615.

Henry III. was subsequently obliged, through the influence of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, to assent to the Charta de Foresta, which checked many of the grievances which had been attached to strict execution of the laws. By it the right of the King to afforest land was confined to the crown demesne; that which Henry II., Richard I., and John had taken from their subjects was to be disafforested and become a *Purlieu*—a compromise which allowed the King and the owners of the land equal rights of chase. By this Charta, also, the penalties were reduced for destroying the game; no man was to lose life or limb for killing deer, but to be punished by fine or imprisonment for a year and a day. The following curious privilege in the Charta as confirmed by Edward I. still belongs to an archbishop, bishop, earl, or baron summoned at royal commandment: "Passing by our forest, it shall be lawful for him to take and kill one or two of our deer by view of the forester, if he be present; or else he shall cause one to blow an horn for him, that he seem not to steal our deer; and likewise they shall do so returning from us."

The Assize and Customs of the Forest of 1278 contains a special interest for Northamptonshire in the particular clause giving permission to the "Abbot of the Borough of St. Peter to hunt and to take Hares, Foxes and Martrons within the bounds of the forest, and to have unlawed dogs, because he has sufficient warrant thereunto."

The Forest Laws after the Plantagenet Kings were very laxly put in force till the time of Charles I., when their latent power was most unseasonably revived; since then the prerogative in crown forests has certainly not been used for oppressive purposes, though various Statutes from and including the Charta de Foresta down to 16th of Charles I. are still in force.

ROCKINGHAM was the earliest in date of the three Northamptonshire Forests to be made a Royal domain, and became one of the largest in the kingdom. It was

STAG-HUNTING WITH STRENGTH OF RUNNING HOUNDS.

in the hands of the Crown at the time of Domesday. William I. ordered the castle to be built; William Rufus and Henry I. were frequently here; John was a constant visitor, and in his reign the Close Rolls show numerous entries respecting the treatment to be given the Royal hounds and hawks; the quantity of flesh they were daily to be fed upon is specified; and the number of times the girfalcons were to be let fly. The Sheriff of Nottingham on one occasion is ordered to procure young pigeons for the hawks' food, and also swines' flesh, and once a week the flesh of fowl.

Henry III. was probably many times at Rockingham. In 1219 he sent his huntsman, Richard de la Hunt, to chase in the forest, and during his stay the Sheriff was to provide for him and his two horses, for two valets, for the hounds, a swordsman, a whipper-in, four greyhounds, and fourteen "running hounds." He is also to have salt for salting the venison, and means to convey it to the King as needed. At various times, privileged people were given permission to take some deer, and heavy would be the punishment if they exceeded the given number. That the permission was occasionally the easiest part of the affair is evident from an order for the Bishop of Ely in 1225 for ten bucks on Rockingham, if a similar order on an Essex forest could not be carried out, because they were hard to take.

Henry II., John, and Richard I. had afforested more land, till by the Perambulation of 1286 it extended about thirty-three miles from the town of Northampton to Stamford, and from the Nene, on the south-east, to the Welland and Maidesell, on the north-west, or an average breadth of about eight miles. In 1299, the limits were much contracted by the reduction of many of the later afforestations.

The Kings gave grants of land in the forest for services, such as keeping hounds ready for their use and of killing down vermin. One very interesting tenure is that of Sir

John d'Engayne who, in the reign of Edward I., with Elena, his wife, "hold of our lord the King in capite £20 of land with the appurtenances in Pightesley (Pytchley)[1] by the service of hunting the wolf for his pleasure in the county." Later, in Edward III., Thomas Engaine "held certain lands in Pightesley by the service of finding, at his own proper costs, certain dogs for the destruction of wolves, martens, cats, and other vermin within four counties." This tenure continued through the Engaynes to the Ishams till some time in the seventeenth century.

The most notable one, however, was that of Hunter's Manor, in Little Weldon, held from the time of Hamon le Venour, in 1216, in direct descent through the Lovel, de Borhunte, Brocas, and Pexsall families, till sold by the latter, 1633, to the Watsons,[2] by service of being "Venour le Roy des deymers," or Master of the King's Buckhounds. The pack (*temp.* Edward III.) consisted of twenty-four buckhounds and six greyhounds, to be fed at ½d. a day; the retinue of a huntsman and two under-huntsmen, who, besides money, were each to have a robe and boots yearly. When the Kings ceased hunting in Northamptonshire, the mastership became nothing more than a personal privilege, and though the salary was paid till 1797, Lord Rockingham failed to get his Office recognised by the Court of Claims at the Coronation of Charles II. These Royal Buckhounds are not to be confounded with the Pack lately abolished, which dated, probably, from Henry VIII., for service near London.

The keepers of the dogs were paid their expenses whilst with the King, as shown by the accounts in the Rolls. For instance, in 1277: "Paid to Thomas de Blathestone, for his expenses in taking the greyhounds with the King, ninepence. . . . Also for bread for the same, when

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1 The connection of Pytchley with hunting can be traced before the Conquest even, as in Domesday, land was held there by William Engayne that had belonged in King Edward's time to Alwin the Huntsman.

2 Burrows' *Brocas de Beaurepaire*, Wise's *Rockingham Castle.*

Master Richard de Holbroc tarried at Rokyngham. . . . In bread for two greyhounds of the Prior de la Launde . . . for 19 days, 19d."

Chaucer flings delicate ridicule at that "fair prelate," the monk, with his greyhounds "swift as fowl in flight," upon his berry-brown palfrey, whose bridle jingled in the wind as clear and loudly as the chapel-bell—"an outrider, that loved venerie." Finally, the chase became so necessary an appendage to the ecclesiastical state that every see had a number of parks—that of Norwich thirteen.

The above Richard de Holbroc, five years later, was appointed constable of the Castle and Seneschal of the Forest. The appointments not invariably went together, and later, when Holbroc was Seneschal only, complaints were made to the King by the owners of the manors of Corby and Gretton that Holbroc had destroyed their woods, cutting down great oaks and keeping charcoal-burners there for six years. Also that he had in the same wood twenty-four swine and a hundred goats for a whole year, contrary to the terms of the royal charter. He denied the accusations, and urged he had *husbote* (wood for burning) and *haybote* (wood for repairing hedges) in their manors. The above is a specimen of the many complaints, of which those of the highest reached the ears of the King, but the majority were adjudicated by the courts of the forest.

After Edward III., our Kings seem to have forsaken Rockingham, and it was not till Henry VII. that any mention of interest occurs. That King appointed his uncle, Viscount Wells, Constable of the Castle, Surveyor of the Vert and Venery, Master Forester, etc.,[1] with all the ancient emoluments and advantages of the said offices. The New Park was at this time enclosed on the south-west of the Castle, and a lodge built for the accommodation of the King when hunting there, the Castle having become dilapidated. This Park and Lodge were subsequently

[1] Campbell's *Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII.*

given by James I. to his favourite Buckingham, who sold them to Sir Lewis Watson, "the purchase money to be paid at the Temple Church."[1] The New Park then became —as it has remained—the Park of the Castle. The Lodge was afterwards used by the Watsons, but nothing remains but traces of the moat which formerly surrounded it.

Henry VIII. hunted, according to Leland, "in a great park of his own" near Pipewell. The same authority describes "the forest after the old Perambulation, 20 miles by 5 or 4 Miles in sum Places, and in sum lesse," and "There be dyvers Lodges for Kepers of the falow Dere yn it."[2]

Elizabeth still further reduced its limits. Though there is no account of her ever having been at Kirby in one of her Progresses, she would have hunted in part of the forest from Burghley. It appears to have been a duty of Thomas, Lord Burghley, to order the venison for the Royal table. In a letter to Edward Montagu (1559) he writes:—

"I am sorry you had no word in time of her Majesty's alteration of her day. . . . I pray you let your under officer signify to every officer for a brace of bucks that is under my government, so as half of them be here upon Saturday morning, the other upon Sunday morning. I pray you give them warning to send better bucks than they were, for they were neither thorough fat nor sweetly brought, and they sent up a doe fit to be given to dogs it was so carren (*sic*) lean."[3]

James I., of all our monarchs since King John, was the most addicted to hunting.

"I dare boldly say," says Osborn, "that one man in his reign might with more safety have killed another than a rascal deer. . . . I shall

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1 Wise's *Rockingham Castle.*

2 The indigenous deer were the roe and red. Of the former, no traces exist in the county, except some horns dug up at Danes' Camp; but it is possible the red deer now in Deene and Blatherwyck Parks may be descendants of the wild red deer of the forest. When the fallow deer were introduced into England is not known; it has been supposed they were brought from Syria or the South of Europe by the Crusaders, though it is possible they were here before the Norman Conquest, if the word "dama," in the *Colloquies of Ælfric*, can be taken as referring to them.

3 *MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch*, Vol. I. *Hist. MSS. Com.*

leave his Majesty dressed to posterity in the colours I saw him in the next Progress after his inauguration, which was green as the grass he trod on, with a feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side."

In another of the Montagu letters, dated August 10th, 1616, it is mentioned that the King visited Rockingham Forest in person, and in Geddington Woods, on Monday, 29th July, killed a very fat buck, which he presented to Sir Edward Montagu, and bade him send it to his mother, "and tell her it was a buck of his killing, and that would please her well." From thence to Farming Woods, where he had royal sport.[1]

Charles I. most inadvisedly sought to increase his revenue by reviving forest law over large areas that had been disafforested; he also enlarged the boundaries of Rockingham to the extensive limits of Edward I., and imposed enormous fines on the trespassers—many thousands of pounds in the case of the Burghley, Apethorpe, and Kirby estates. He was forced, however, in three years to confirm a statute restoring the boundaries to those of the twentieth year of James I. for ever.

Interest both in the preservation of the deer and the care of the timber for the use of the navy revived at the Commonwealth. At the same time, a proposal "to manage the Forests of the late King less offensively to the people"[2] was considered by the Council. Charles II. and his successors disafforested and leased further portions, but much remained in the hands of the Crown till the final disafforesting in the reign of William IV., when a Commission apportioned the rights between the Crown and the various claimants; and what with petitions and counter-petitions, their work can have been no sinecure.

Besides the Castle, there were other Royal residences in the forest—Geddington, Farming Woods, Brigstock, and Cliffe.

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1 *MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch*, Vol. I. *Hist. MSS. Com.*
2 *Cal. State Papers*, 1653.

The Castle of Geddington, of which nothing now remains, stood in the field "Hall close" to the north-east of the church. Geddington Chase, which still retains something of its wild woodland appearance, was nearly seven miles in compass, and was granted by Charles I. to Edward, Lord Montagu.[1] Charles II. added an additional favour that it be deemed a chase distinct from the forest and out of its jurisdiction and boundaries. This was a great advantage, as a chase was "an uninclosed park," where the common law was in force and there were no officers of higher rank than keepers and woodwards.

Farming Woods, or, as written in the reign of Edward III., Fermyngwodes, was one of the walks of the Bailiwick of Brigstock. The hunting Lodge, given by Queen Elizabeth to Hatton, was probably the residence of the Keeper of the Walk. It was later joined to the Lyveden property. The present house embodies some remains of the old Elizabethan lodge; but the gateway to the stable-yard was brought from Lyveden Old Bield in the middle of last century. The park at Farming Woods presents more of the old forest character than can be found elsewhere.

> "And near to these our thicks, the wild and frightful herds
> Feed fairly on the lawns; both sorts of seasoned deer:
> the freckled fallow there:
> The bucks and lusty stags amongst the rascals strew'd,
> As sometime gallant spirits amongst the multitude."

About half-a-mile from Farming Woods is the Bocase stone, almost certainly one of the forest boundaries, close on 4 ft. high, with two inscriptions cut:—

"IN THIS PLAES GREW BOCASE TREE,"

"HERE STOOD BOCASE TREE."

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[1] For a consideration of £850, at the yearly rent of £10 in 1627, and later for £1,000 all the timber trees within it.

Various Breeds of Sporting Dogs 500 years ago.

Of the Royal hunting Lodge at Brigstock there is a record in the Liberate Roll of 36 Henry III.—"We also command you to make a great and wide chimney in our chamber at Brigstock." The same Rolls and the Close Rolls of this reign give many particulars of the works at the King's Northamptonshire houses.

King's Cliffe, as the King's property, was formerly styled Cliffe Regis. Their hunting Lodge here stood on the south side of the churchyard, near what is now called Hall Yard; and from the fact that coals were found among the ruins, it is supposed the house was burnt down in the great fire that devastated the village in 1462. A feature of the Lodge was the fish-pools for the King's use, which his tenants at Cliffe were called on to assist keep in repair. Cliffe Park, to the north-east of the town, was enclosed in the reign of Edward III., and disparked by Cecil in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Not near Benefield village, but some miles away in Rockingham parish, is Benefield Lodge, one of the old Forest Officer's Lodges, still to be seen with the moat on three sides of it. It is now a farmhouse, near King's Wood, and not far from the Lawn, of which Leland says:—

"The Launde of Benifeld within this Forest is spatious and faire to course yn."

And Drayton:—

"Fair Benefield, whose care to thee doth surely cleave
Which bears a grass as soft, as is the dainty sleave[1]
And thrum'd so thick and deep that the proud palmed deer
Forsake the closer woods and make their quiet leir
In beds of platted fog."[2]

Other famous Lawns are Morehay and Sulehay, near Apethorpe.[3]

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1 Unravelled silk.
2 Thick grass.
3 The termination "hay" is from the Saxon *haga* or French *haie*—a hedge; and points out the place as having been fenced to facilitate the killing of the deer by limiting the space.

There are still some of the famous old oaks left in Morehay Lawn—relics so old that it has been said they were part of a double circle in the days of the Druids! However, they are presumably of such age that, being past their prime, they were spared when the Royal forests were recklessly thinned of oaks for our shipyards. Sulehay is in Yarwell parish, and the Yarwell family held the office of forester in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The lodge was the chief residence of the officers of the King's Cliffe bailiwick. The forestership, with various lands, woods, and manors, including Apethorpe Park and Morehay Lawn, were granted by Edward VI. to Sir Walter Mildmay, from whom they have descended to the present Earl of Westmorland.

The second great Forest—that of SALCEY—belonged to the Crown from the time of the Conquest, and underwent enlargements and reductions in the same reigns as did Rockingham. It was made part of the Honour of Grafton in 1541, after which it shared the fortunes of Whittlebury. Some idea of the waste and mis-management of the Royal Forests, owing to the perquisites of the officers and the transaction of their work by deputies, is given in the Survey of the County in 1783, when the timber fit for naval use is reported as only one-tenth of what it was in 1608. One fruitful source of waste was lopping the young timber for browse wood for the deer, as the cheapest way of supplying them with winter food. A pamphlet of 1797 writes:—

"This little verdant Forest has a very parkish appearance, and the great variety of large Thorns among the majestic oaks exhibit several very picturesque scenes. . . . One of these (venerable oaks) has for many generations been called the Great Oak, and I believe there are very few in England can vie with it for size and antiquity. . . . There is reason to suppose this tree is at least 1,500 years old."

This oak, which still produces leaves and acorns, once had wicket-gates on each side, across the gaps in the trunk, and was used as a stable for a pony.

Salcey contained three Walks—Hanslop, Piddington, and Hartwell—each under a Yeoman-Keeper. The Head, a Warden or Master Forester, was in possession of the great Lodge. In 1809 there were said to be a thousand deer of all sorts kept in the Forest to supply annually about twenty-eight brace of bucks and twenty-four of does, for the use of the King's household and public officers,[1] but when it was disafforested in 1850 there were no deer remaining.

Adjoining Salcey is Yardley Chase, belonging to the Lords Northampton, who have cut artificial ridings, and planted them with firs. For miles here the country, stretching into Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, is still considerably wooded. From the latter county the poet Cowper would have often walked in the Chase and contemplated the group of venerable trees, to one of which he addressed his unfinished poem, "The Yardley Oak."

Cowper's oak is the largest of three in a Lawn near the village of Yardley Hastings. It is now much the same size and aspect as the Salcey oak, though

> "a bauble once; a cup and ball
> Which babes might play with; and the thievish jay,
> Seeking her food, with ease might have purloined."

Nearer the village is "Magog," and "Gog"—a still larger and more ruined oak, which, according to an unsupported tradition, was planted by Judith, niece of William I.

The third forest, WHITTLEBURY, was, till quite recently, known as Whittlewood, earlier as Wytlebyr. It was not mentioned in Domesday; and the earliest notice of it is in the foundation charter of Luffield Priory,[2] where Henry I. commands "all his foresters of Whittlewood" to permit the prior and monks of Luffield to have all convenient easements in his forest without waste. The

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1 The officials of the Forest had their share, and the Warden took the remainder.

2 In Silveston parish.

kings here, as elsewhere, enlarged the boundaries, and were forced to contract them again. By the Perambulation in 1299, the limits of "Wytlewod" were fixed (roughly speaking) between Stony Stratford and Syresham, by Deanshanger and Luffield Priory on the one side, and the Watling Street on the other, including Towcester Parish. The Fortho and Cosgrove Woods were excluded; also the Morton Pinkney and Wappenham Woods, that were in bounds in 1219. The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire portions were disallowed, so the above-mentioned district in Northamptonshire, about 20,000 acres, was the total extent. The Perambulations were re-established in 1641; but after Charles I. disafforestation of portions began, till, in 1791, the area of actual forest land was 5,424 acres. Unlike Rockingham and Salcey, it was almost entirely compassed with a ring mound, which has fallen into disrepair since the removal of the deer.

Hasleborough Walk was not included in the ring mound, and the turnpike from Northampton to Oxford passed through it, so the deer and common cattle often strayed into the village of Silveston and elsewhere. It was disafforested and enclosed in 1824, and its allotment may be taken as an example of the rest.

Of the ten coppices in which the Crown had the soil and the timber, and the Lord Warden (the Duke of Grafton) the underwood, three fourth parts were allotted to the Crown subject to a deduction to the Duke. Of the seven coppices which the Duke owned by purchase from Earl Bathurst—the Crown having only the right of herbage and feed for the deer—he was allotted three fourth parts, subject to a deduction to the Crown. Allotments were made to all persons having right of common in respect of lands in the forest villages, and to trustees for the poor of these places, in lieu of the right to "sere and broken wood"; and all the remainder of the open plains and ridings, and the whole of the lawns and lodge-grounds, were divided between the Crown and the Duke.

The name Silveston is a corruption of "Silva tone"—wood town. Richard I., when here at his hunting-lodge, was called on by the King of Scotland to rate the Bishop of Durham. When the Scotch King arrived from hunting at the inn at Brackley, he was so annoyed to find the Bishop had eaten the dinner that the Royal servants had prepared, that he ordered the remainder to be given to the poor, and went off to Richard at Silveston.

Our King's wine is frequently a matter of importance in the entries of the Close Rolls, one of which, in John's reign (1214), shows the different royal hunting residences in Northamptonshire. The Chancellor was ordered to send 2 tons of red wine to Silveston and 1 cask to Wakefeuld,[1] 2 casks of white wine and 10 of red to Northampton, and 2 tons to Geddington, 2 to "Salvatu," and 4 to Rockingham, also to Cliffe and Salcey.

In 1274, William de Brandeston held possessions, by sergeanty of taking charge of the King's cellars at Silveston, a service altered in 1361 to tasting the King's wines so often as he should reside there. There is no record of a King being here after Edward I.[2]

Puxley, or Pokesley, was the residence of the Wardens of the Forest, presumably till the Greenes, of Greens Norton, came by both Puxley and the Wardenship in the time of Henry V. The latter was given to John Claypole, of Northborough, by his father-in-law, Cromwell; and to him is attributed the erection of the former Wakefield Lodge. The present house was built by the second Duke of Grafton. By letters patent of 1712, he and his heirs male were confirmed in his inheritance of the office of Master Forester and Master of the Wild Beasts and Conies of the Forest of Whittlewood, with all privileges and emoluments thereto (among others, the power of appointing the officers of the forest); Wakefield Lawn,

1 From its former owner, Hereward the Wake.
2 The site of the house and chapel was located by Baker at King's Hill and Chapel coppices in the Hasleborough Walk.

with its appendages, for his residence; and the residue of the deer, after answering certain warrants. The title of Grafton was given by Charles II. to his son from the Royal Honor of that name.

A romance has been woven round Grafton Regis by the love story of Edward IV. and the beautiful Elizabeth Grey, who was a member of the notable family of Woodville (Earl Rivers), who had their castle at Grafton. Here, in 1464, was living Sir Richard Woodville (who had married Jacquetta de Luxemburgh, Duchess of Bedford), with his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, widow of Sir John Grey, of Groby, who had been killed fighting on the Lancastrian side. The scene of the first interview between the young King and Elizabeth Grey is pointed out by tradition as an oak tree in a hedgerow between Grafton and Whittlebury Forest, called the "Queen's Oak"—

> "An oak so hollow, huge and old,
> It look'd a tower of ruin'd masonwork";

and of all its branches, but one in the summer is able to put forth a few green leaves.

The historical story may be quoted in the words of Habington.[1] "For the young King, after hunting in Wychwood Forrest, coming to visit the Duchess of Bedford at her mannor of Grafton, near Stony Stratford in Buckinghamshire, for a grant of some lands taken from her Maintenance,[2] was solicited by a fair Petitioner the Duchess' Daughter Elizabeth, Widow of Sir John Grey.[3] . . . The King could not but yield to any Request made by so conquering a Beauty, and presently himself grew as earnest in solliciting her, though in a more unlawful suit. . . . She repulsed her enemy so nobly by telling him: 'That though she knew herself unworthy to

1 *Life of Edward IV.*, by John Habington.

2 Henry VI. sequestered her dowry on discovering her secret marriage with Woodville.

3 The Yorkists appear to have withheld from her the estates that would have been her dower; for these she solicited the King.

Hawking Tower, Althorp Park.

be a Queen, yet she valued her Honour and Person more than to be the greatest Prince's concubine'; that he offered Parly upon more honourable Terms." Despite reasons of State and other arguments, with which his Mother and Friends "pressed him passionately," he risked angering King Louis of France and "so dangerous a subject as Warwick," by not entering into one of the foreign alliances desired. The fair beauty won the day, and Edward went over to Grafton early on the morning of May 1st, 1464, and was there secretly married to her, none being present, says Fabyan, but "the spouse, the spousesse, the Duchess of Bedford, her mother, the priest, two gentlewomen, and a young man who helped the priest sing." Later in the day, the King returned to Stony Stratford, as it was supposed, to rest after a day's hunting. A day or two later he invited himself as a guest at Grafton, to enjoy the society of his bride, but the marriage was not made known till the following Michaelmas. Sidney, in one of his sonnets, names Edward IV. as first in praise—

> "Of all the kings that ever here did reign,
> Not for his fair outside, nor well-lined brain . . .
> But only for this worthy knight durst prove
> To lose his crown rather than fail his love."

Richard III. halted at the Castle on one occasion, but it did not become royal property till 1527, when Henry VIII. exchanged other property for Grafton and Hartwell; and in 1541 made the "Honor of Grafton," including in it all "Whittlewood and Sawsey Forests" and Yardley Chase.

Grafton was again fated to be the scene of a royal love story and of a dramatic episode in history, for it was there that Henry and Anne Boleyn made much progress in their courtship, and Henry VIII. and Wolsey met for the last time. Campeggio was to take leave of the King, and repaired to Grafton for that purpose, with Wolsey, September, 1529[1]:—

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1 Extracts from Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*.

"The King commanded the Queen to be removed out of Court and sent to another place, and his Highness rode in his progress with Mistress Anne Boleyn in his company, all the grece season."[1]

After the interview with the King, Wolsey had to ride away to "a House of Master Empson's" (Easton Neston), there being no lodging at Court for him. At supper the conversation ran on the engrossing subject of sport.

"'And where,' quoth my Lord (to Stephens, the Secretary), 'have you been ever since?' 'Forsooth,' quoth he, 'following the Court this progress.' 'Then have ye hunted, and had good game and pastime?' quoth my Lord. 'Forsooth, sir,' quoth he, 'and so I have, I thank the King's Majesty.' 'What good greyhounds have ye?' quoth my Lord. 'I have some, Sir,' quoth he. And thus in hunting and like disports passed they all their communication at Supper, and after Supper my Lord and he talked secretly together till it was midnight or (ere) they departed. The next morning my Lord rose early and rode straight to the Court, at whose coming the King was ready to ride, willing my Lord to resort to the Council with the Lords in his absence, and said he could not tarry with him, commanding him to return with Cardinal Campeggio, who had taken his leave of the King. Whereupon my Lord was constrained to take his leave also of the King, with whom the King departed amiably in the sight of all men. The King's sudden departure in the morning was by the special labour of Mistress Anne, who rode with him only to lead him about because he should not return until the Cardinals were gone, the which departed after Dinner, returning towards the Moor (in Hertfordshire).

"The King rode that morning to view a ground for a new Park, which is called at this day Hartwell Park, where Mistress Anne had made provision for the King's Dinner, fearing his return or (ere) the Cardinals were gone."

It appears from the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry from 1529 to 1532 that the King twice visited Grafton within that period to enjoy the pleasures of the Chase. Among other entries are the following:—

paied/ "The keper of Grafton parke in Rewarde vij^{s} vj^{d}
"to the keper of the new parke of Hartwell vij^{s} vj^{d}
"to the keper of Whittell Wod in rewarde vij^{s} vj^{d}
"The same daye paied to one that brought the King's grace a brace of greyhounds out of Wales xx^{s}

[1] The season of the hart and buck was called *grease time*, because that was the season when they were fat and fit for killing. In the old English version of Twici it is mentioned that "the tyme of grece beginneth alle way atte the fest of the Nativyte of Saynt Johan baptist" (June 24th), and it ended at Holyrood Day (Sept. 14th).

On the xi^th^ Sept. the King departed, and there was "paied for a carte to cary the houndes from Grafton to Antyll (Ampthill, Co. Beds.) after xv. myles ij^s^ vj^d^."

"the last daye paied to the french fletcher (arrow-maker), in rewarde by the King's commandement iij^li^ vj^s^ viij^d^"

"the same daye by lyke commaundement to Matthew the fawconer for his cote xxij^s^ vj^d^"

"by the King's commaunde, Michell Pylleson that gave an Angle-rodde unto the King's grace at Grafton xv^s^."

"in rewarde to a servant of my lorde lennarde by the King's commaundement vj^s^ viij^d^."

Queen Elizabeth in but one of her progresses, in 1568, was at Grafton, and later, in the reign of Charles I., Grafton House was occupied by the family of Clifford, Earls of Cumberland, as a convenient resting-place on their journeys from the North to London. The historian of Craven, in his illustration of the household accounts of Earl Francis between the years 1634 and 1638, observes that

"baked meats were more in use two centuries ago than now; and when a part of the Clifford family resided at Grafton in Northamptonshire, not only pasties of red deer venison were sent thither by express from Skipton; but carcases of staggs, two, four, or more, at once, were baked whole, and dispatched to the same place.

"Among the items of expence are, for three bushels of wheat to bake two staggs 15^s^; for currants and limons which they put in the stag pies; and, to William Townley for 6 lb. & 1 oz. of pepper for baking a stag sent to Grafton; for another sent to Westmoreland and Cumberland for the assizes, and one bestowed by my Lord in the country upon divers persons 18^s^ 8d."

Grafton came in for its full share of disaster in the Civil War. It was held by the Royalists, commanded by Sir John Digby, son of Sir Everard, one of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators. It was besieged by the Parliamentarians under Skippon, and when Digby was forced to surrender, "the Soldiers entered the house, where they found great and rich plunder," and "for prevention of future inconveniences, the house was fired."[1] Its ruined walls were never rebuilt, though a small remaining portion became

1 *Mercurius Civicus.* Reprinted in *Northants N. & Q.*, Vol. 2.

a farmhouse, which has of late years been enlarged and modernized.

Not so many years have passed since the forests were a distinct feature in our country. Since the disafforesting and enclosure of Whittlebury and Salcey, most of the commons and waste pieces have been fenced round and appropriated, thus taking away much of the wild aspect of many parts, and dispossessing an almost distinct class, the squatters or hutmen, who settled themselves in waste places and got their living as best they could. Those who failed to establish a claim to property as peasant proprietors, went to swell the ranks of the labourers or more probably became vagrants.

The old forest villages were celebrated for a lawless people, poachers by hereditary instinct, successors of the old deer-stealers. Gilbert White pertinently remarks of Wolmer Forest in the eighteenth century:[1] "Though large herds of deer do much harm to the neighbourhood, yet the injury to the morals of the people is of more moment than the loss of their crops. The temptation is irresistible, for most men are sportsmen by constitution; and there is such an inherent spirit for hunting in human nature, as scarce any inhibitions can restrain."

Deer-stealing in olden times was not considered beneath the dignity of a gentleman. We read in Fleetwood that there was in the reign of Henry VII. "Diverse persons in great nombers some with painted faces some with Visordes and otherwise disguysed to the Intent that they might not be known In warlike manner Did hunte in fforests parkes and warrens with in this Realme aswell by nighte as by Daie." Again, in Elizabeth's reign: "One Arthur Brooke gent. Adrian Brooke gent." and others were in the habit of going into parks with their servants armed with "fforest bills, Crossbowes, gonnes, dogges and other like weapons," and killing deer, "and the said Riott haveing so raunged

[1] *Natural History of Selborne.*

and trouped upp and down till they were tired they carried awaye the Doe." The Queen's Attorney prays for a writ against Adrian Brooke.

After the forest laws became a dead letter until the final disafforesting, there were many bold spirits who feasted their families on venison. A favourite way of catching the deer was to "nobble" them, that is, to throw a sort of lasso over their head or horns, and entangle them till their throat could be cut; this was also a method in the New Forest, where there is tradition that the lasso was an inheritance from the Spanish Armada. Another way, to quote Gilbert White again, was to watch the hind to her lair, and when the calf was dropped, pare its feet with a penknife to the quick, to prevent its escape, till it was large and fat enough to be killed.

The gradual extinction of deer-parks is greatly to be regretted from an artistic standpoint, as there are people now living who remember what an addition to the view it was over "Rockinghamshire" when, on a fine day, a thousand deer could be seen scattered over the plain.

The final act in the enclosure of the forests was the wholesale destruction of the deer, some of which were caught and sent to various parks, but hundreds were shot down; the few that were left inhabited the woods for many years afterwards, though their numbers gradually diminished; whether descendants of these deer or of wanderers from a neighbouring park, there are a few wild deer still in the woods around Rockingham that breed and keep up their scanty number. Occasionally they are visible, but for the most part they keep close to the dense Bangreaves or the Deene Woods adjoining.

Turning from the history of the forests to the literature of the subject, the first treatise on hunting written in English was "The Maystre of the Game," by Edward Plantagenet, 2nd Duke of York,[1] who may fairly be

[1] See Fotheringhay in this volume.

claimed as a Northamptonshire man. The work[1] was largely a translation from Gaston Phœbus;[2] but the original parts are of the greatest interest as showing the difference between the English and French hunting customs.

The quaintly-put reasons of this ancient authority for extolling hunting may fitly conclude: "The first rayson is for this game cause the oft a man to eschuwe the seven dedly synnes. The secounde, men ben (are) beter ryding, more juste and more understonding of alle cuntreys and of alle passages short and longe, and more appert to alle good customnes and maners, that kometh therof and health of man and of his soule for who so fleeth the seven dedly synnes we beleveth shal be found saved, thaune (then) a goode hunter shal be saved and in this worlde he shall have joye enowe and of gladnesse and of solas (solace)."

Two of the accompanying illustrations are from the very fine MS. of Gaston Phœbus in the Bibl. Nat., Paris, and are most kindly lent me by Mr. Baillie-Grohman.

The first illustrates various breeds of sporting dogs, enumerated in "Maystre of the Game," as "*Rachches*, that men call rennying houndes." *Braches* and *Lymers* were varieties all now represented by our Hounds—*Greyhounds*, *Alauntes* "nature of houndes," "*Spanyell houndes*, called houndes for the hauke and spanyell for the nature of them come first oute of spaigne," and *Mastyffs*.

The second Stag-Hunting with strength of Running Hounds. The leading white hound is a greyhound, which was often used in France, at any rate, in conjunction with the regular pack to bring the stag to a bay, and was slipped late in the run.

The third illustration of the Hawking Tower (with the Pytchley Hounds) in Althorp Park, represents a structure probably unique. It was built by Robert, Lord Spencer, in 1612-13. The upper floor was a large room with the walls pierced with a number of arches, through which the spectators could watch the sport. These arches have been built up in order to render the place habitable, and rooms have been added at the back.

ALICE DRYDEN.

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1 Mr. Baillie-Grohman is shortly bringing out the first published edition.
2 "Le livre de la Chasce par Gaston de Foix," written 1387-9.

Sir Thomas Tresham.

SIR THOMAS TRESHAM AND HIS SYMBOLIC BUILDINGS.

SIR THOMAS TRESHAM, the builder of Lyveden and the curious Triangular Lodge, was of "an ancient family and large estate." His grandfather, according to Fuller, was a "person of great command" in the county, a notable Catholic at a period when it began to be doubtful whether it were safer to be a Protestant or Catholic. But for him, at any rate, being a Catholic tended to his good; he had done "knight service" in proclaiming Queen Mary against Queen Jane, and received from her the remarkable distinction of being made Prior of the re-erected Order of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

The Lord Prior died in 1559, leaving his estate to his grandson, Thomas—the most remarkable figure in the history of the Tresham family—a minor of fifteen years old. The Queen, as Fuller relates, knighted him in the eighteenth year of her reign at Kenilworth. "Hard to say whether greater his delight or skill in building," he continues, "though more forward in beginning than fortunate in finishing his fabricks. Having many daughters, and being a great house-keeper, he matched most of them into Honourable, the rest into Worshipful and Wealthy families. He was zealous in the Romish persuasion (though as yet not convicted), which afterwards cost him a long confinement in Wisbich."[1]

[1] This is a mistake. Francis Tresham was confined there, but not Sir Thomas.

He was, it appears, nurtured as a Protestant, but was "reclaimed" to the Catholic cause in 1580 when the first missionary priests came to England, and soon lost favour with the Court.

In the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, all "Jesuits, seminaries, and others that are their consorts" were, it may be said, in the opinion of a very great number of Englishmen, "traiterous and disloyal" as a matter of course.[1] Harry Constable, the poet, however, writing to dissuade the Pope from giving ear to those who would have English Catholics favour the King of Spain's designs, hopes that his endeavours will induce Elizabeth and her ministers to draw a line between the Catholics who merely desired "the peaceable enjoyment of their conscience," and such as desired the subversion of the existing state—the faction of the bitter English Catholics abroad, of Parsons and Holt, "a most monstrous wicked man" in the phrase of an anonymous loyal Catholic subject of the day. The same writer prays for a golden age of toleration, where no man's conscience is forced, "to appease and join all in one for the defence of the country." "Why might we not do the like in England," he writes, "seeing every man must answer for his own soul at the Latter Day, and that religion is the gift of God, and cannot be beaten into a man's head with a hammer."

To this loyal majority Sir Thomas belonged, and though he was thought likely to join the Babington conspiracy,[2] he was certainly regarded by the Society (in the words of a Jesuit) as an "atheist" for his friendship to the State.[3] By a government spy it was reported that, with Lord Vaux, and a few other of the most remarkable Catholics, Sir Thomas was accounted "a very good subject, and a great adversary of the Spanish practices."[4]

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1 MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury. Part VII., p. 86. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*
2 Simancas MSS., 1580-6, p. 604.
3 Cal. State Papers Dom. 1595-7, p. 538.
4 Cal. State Papers Dom., 1591-4, p. 56.

Shortly after his conversion in 1580, Sir Thomas was, with Lord Vaux, Sir William Catesby, and others, arraigned before the Star Chamber on a charge of contempt against the Queen's majesty in having refused to swear that he had not secreted Edmund Campion. The trial took place on November 15th, 1581, but the date of Sir Thomas's first commitment was fifteen months previous. In the dark labyrinth of citation and defence, Sir Thomas took a leading part. His knowledge of Divinity surprised his judges, and perhaps aggravated his offence. In reply to Lord Hunsdon, he is reported to have said: "My Lords, my Studie is lytle; yet the most tyme I imploye in studie ys in divinitie."

Like the others, Sir Thomas pleaded that it was a matter of conscience which led them to refuse to swear; but their objections had but little weight, and they were thought "well worthie to be most severely punished and deeply fyned for example's sake." They were, therefore, committed to the Fleet, and fined—Lord Vaux, a thousand pounds; Sir Thomas Tresham and Sir William Catesby, one thousand marks.

About the end of April, 1582, Sir Thomas heard mass said by a seminary priest, called Osborne, in Lord Vaux's[1] chamber in the Fleet prison, and was convicted of recusancy[2] the January following. He was imprisoned, "only for testimony of his conscience" in the Fleet, at Banbury, at his own house at Hoggesden (or Hoxton), and also at Ely, which he terms his "familiar prison."[3] He was scarcely allowed to visit Rushton until 1593, where, during his two years' space of freedom, he built the Triangular Lodge, but hardly was this finished when he was hurried away to imprisonment again at the close of the year 1596.[4]

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1 Ellis' *Original Letters*, second series, Vol. III., p. 88.
2 Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times*, II., p. 187.
3 Rushton Papers.
4 "From which he was by warrant discharged, 8 Dec., 1597" (Bridges).

It was in one of his frequent detentions that in a curious letter, undated, to Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Thomas' brother, William Tresham, prays for his "poor brother," and begs the services of Sir Christopher, with the following cogent and Elizabethan arguments, in favour of such graceful benefits: "I pray you, Sir, remember that the bee gathereth honey of every flower, and of many travails frameth a sweet and comfortable being, . . . but the grasshopper all the summer-time joyeth with gallantry in the pleasant meadows, and dieth commonly with the cold dew of Bartholomew. You know that the high cedar-trees on the tops of huge mountains are most subject to the danger of storms, and therefore have most need of many and sure roots, . . . and there is none so high now but may one day, through affliction, stand in as great need as now my poor brother, and your dear friend doth. I beseech you think of him."[1]

From the Rushton papers we learn that he was once more confined to the Fleet in 1599; but he was finally released from his "restless adversity" before the death of Elizabeth, inasmuch as he proclaimed the new king at Northampton, "with considerable personal danger, and against much resistance on the part of the local magistrates," while his two sons, Francis and Lewis, supported the Earl of Southampton in holding the Tower of London for the royal use. He seems to have occupied the evening of his life with the new building at Lyveden, which was still far from complete when he died, less than two months before the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot through the agency of Francis, his son and heir. In a letter among the Rushton papers,[2] Sir Thomas alludes somewhat bitterly to his "full twenty-four years' term of restless adversity and deep disgrace"; but the spirit of

"The constant service of the antique world"

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[1] *Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton*, by Sir Harris Nicolas, p. 352.

[2] Dated 7th October, 1604 (Rushton Papers).

appears more happily in an earlier letter to Lord Henry Howard (July, 1603), where, though he has ended his triple apprenticeship of one-and-twenty years, he is content to serve a like long service "to prevent the foregoing of his beloved, beautiful, and graceful Rachel; for it seemed to him but a few days for the love he had to her."

Of Sir Thomas' buildings, two alone are symbolical—Lyveden and the Triangular Lodge at Rushton. The only reference to the Triangular Lodge until recent years is in a pocket-book, in which Captain Richard Symonds, a Royalist officer during the Civil War, made brief notes of the places he saw on his marches. He passed through Rushton eight days before the battle of Naseby, that is, on June 5th, 1645, and wrote: "Sir Thomas Tresham built part of this faire howse, and also the pretty Warren howse." Religious symbolism was not in tune with the times, and the "pretty Warren howse" passed unnoticed among the "drums and tramplings" of the Civil War.

The main features of the Triangular Lodge were no doubt settled by Sir Thomas during one of his imprisonments. By means of a document among the papers discovered at Rushton, it has been sought to prove, from Sir Thomas' own writing, that the motive for the erection of the Lodge was an instance of supernatural "rapping." In an undated letter, he writes:—

"If it be demanded why I labour so much in the Trinity and Passion of Christ to depaint in this chamber, this is the principal instance thereof: That at my last being hither committed, and I usually having my servants here allowed me, to read nightly an hour to me after supper, it fortuned that Fulcis, my then servant, reading in the *Christian Resolution*, in the Treatise of *Proof that there is a God, &c.*, there was upon a wainscot table at that instant three loud knocks (as if it had been with an iron hammer) given; to the great amazement of me and my two servants, Fulcis and Nilkton."

"If Mr. Jardine's supposition that the letter was written about the year 1584 be correct, it would not refer to the Triangular Lodge, which was not begun until 1593,"[1] and though Sir Thomas labours to "depaint" the Trinity in the Lodge, it is at Lyveden that we find the illustrations and symbols of "the Passion of Christ."

It is curious to observe how the happy accidents of Sir Thomas Tresham's name and arms[2] aided the symbolism of the Lodge. The name was undoubtedly pronounced *Traysam* (old French *trei* three; *cf.*, "Nay, then, two *treys* an if you grow so nice"—*Love's Labours Lost*, v. 2). It is engraved *Tresame* in Sir Thomas' book-plate, and is frequently so written in contemporary letters, and also in the "Allegation for a marriage license," issued by the Bishop of London in 1602-3 to Lewis Tresame, son of Sir Thomas Tresame, Kt. His initials, "T. T.," upon the Triangular Lodge, may have suggested to his mind the *Tau* cross, emblem of Christianity, specifically mentioned in the curious Latin verses in the oratory of Rushton Hall: "Behold the health-giving symbol, THAV, the noble Tree of Life."[3] The trefoils of his arms are also constantly used.

The Lodge is triangular in plan, and the various details and measurements are worked out in threes.

Between the string course and the windows of the upper floor are the figures 15 93, and T T, thus giving the date of the building and the builder's initials. "Above the top windows is an entablature, the frieze of which is occupied by legends, and above this again rise, on each side, three equilateral gables, each surmounted by a tapering pinnacle crowned with the trefoil and triangular in plan. From the centre of the building, where the ridges of the roof converge, rises the chimney, also triangular in plan."

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1 *The Buildings of Sir Thomas Tresham*, by J. Alfred Gotch.

2 *Tresham*, Per saltire sable and argent, in chief three trefoils slipped, 2-1, and as many in base, 1-2, or.

3 ECCE SALVTIFERVM SIGNUM THAV NOBILE LIGNVM VITAE.

The small basement windows are a triangular opening, surrounded by a moulding in the shape of a trefoil.

The entrance doorway is 6 ft. high and 2 ft. 3 ins. wide.[1] On the head are figures, which have been hitherto unexplained, 55.55, of which more hereafter. Within the "pediment" over the door is a shield bearing the arms of Tresham, and below it the words:

"TRES · TESTIMONIVM · DANT,"

from[2] 1 John v. 7; and the continuation of the verse again alludes to the theme of the whole building, the Trinity: "For there are *three that bear record* in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one."

The ground-floor windows consist of a thin cross with a trefoil at the end of each arm, and surrounded by a moulding similar to that round the basement windows. They are surrounded by shields, four to each.

The windows of the upper floor consist of various arrangements of triangles within a trefoil. Immediately over each of the top windows outside are two letters, in sunk and moulded panels, which, when placed consecutively, read thus:—

"MENTES TVORVM VISITA"[3]

("Visit the minds of Thy people").

Above these is the entablature, the architrave of which is broken by gargoyles, one at each angle, and one at each intersection of the gables, *nine* in all. On the breast of these gargoyle-cherubs, above the pipe, is an incised letter; on a shield on the soffit below the pipe, each of those at the angles bears a triangle in a circle, while the others bear letters. Taking the letters on the soffit first,

1 *i.e.*, 6 ft. high, 27 ins. wide—a multiple of three, as are all the measurements of the Lodge.

2 Quoniam *tres* sunt *qui testimonium dant.* . . .

3 From the hymn—

"Veni Creator Spiritus
Mentes tuorum visita."

and then those on the breast, and beginning on the left hand of the south-east or entrance side, it has been found that they read thus:—

✠SS	✠SD	✠DS
QEE	QEE	QVE

which have been interpreted as the initials of a sentence from the Revelation, which has been given as—

Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth [1]
Qui Erat Et Qui Est Et Qui Venturus Est.

("Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth,
Which was, and is, and is to come.")

from Revelation iv. 8. I am of opinion, however, that the second part of the sentence is from Revelation xi. 17, which equally fits the initials, and gives as the sum of its letters a multiple of three:—

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth
Qui Es Et Qui Eras et Qui Venturus Es.

Thus the upper line has 6 words and 39 letters; and the lower, 9 words and 27 letters.[2]

The frieze of the entablature is occupied with legends, one to each side; and the sides being 33 ft. long, each legend contains 33 letters. They are as follows:—

"APERIATVR TERRA & GERMINET SALVATOREM.[3]

("Let the earth open, and bring forth a Saviour.")

QVIS SEPARABIT NOS A CHARITATE CHRISTI.[4]

("Who shall separate us from the love of Christ.")

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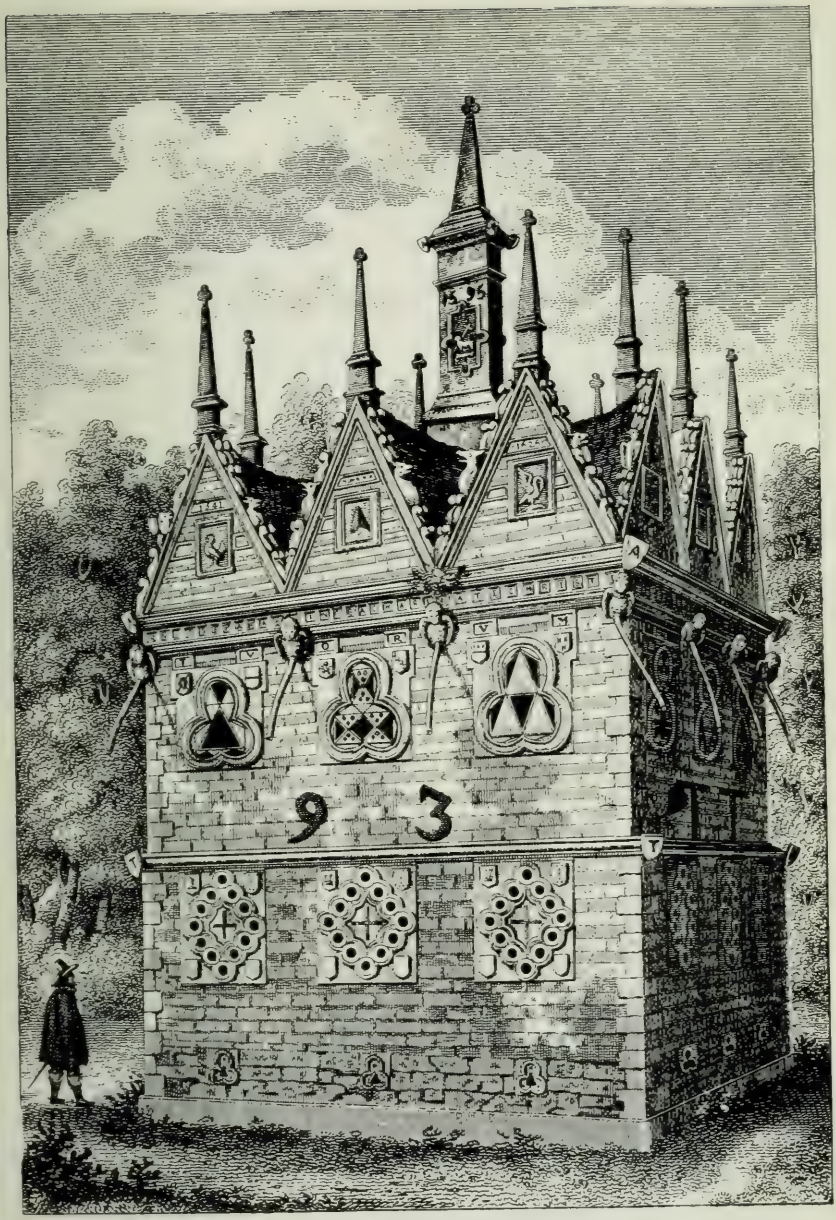
1 *Sabaoth* is substituted here for the *omnipotens* of the original. The *Te Deum* has Sabaoth.

2 In this line, Et is probably counted as one letter, as in the first legend on the south-east face.

3 Isaiah xlv. 8.

4 Rom. viii. 35. In the original, *Quis ergo nos separabit a charitate Christi.* These minute variations are no doubt made to include only a number of letters which is a multiple of three.



Triangular Lodge, Rushton.

CONSIDERAVI OPERA TVA DOMINE ET EXPAVI."[1]

("I have considered Thy works, O Lord, and was afraid.")

The centre gable on each side displays a sun-dial, and above it, in a sunk and moulded panel, a word. The outside gables bear similarly an emblem and a set of figures. Taking them in the usual order, we get:—

S.E. Face:	3898 Seven-branched Candlestick.	RESPICITE [Sundial.]	3509 Seven Eyes of God.
N. Face:	1641 Hen and Chickens.	NON MIHI [Sundial.]	1626 Pelican in her Piety.
S.W. Face:	1595 Dove and Serpent.	SOLI LABORAVI [Sundial.]	1580 Hand of God on a Globe.

An interpretation of the emblems, and a fuller light upon the legends upon each face of the Lodge, appears to me to be given by the hypothesis that each face is illustrative of one Person of the Trinity. It is curious that the number of letters in the legends (and in some cases the number of words) make up a sacred number, such as seven or five, or a multiple of three.

Beginning, then, on the south-east[2] or entrance side from which all the sentences are read, the emblems of the seven-branched candlestick[3] and of the seven eyes[4] of God point to the first Person of the Trinity—the God of the Old Testament, from which these emblems, together with the legend, are taken.

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1 From the Good Friday *Missa Praesanctificatorum*, the first Tract, amplified from Habakkuk iii. 1. Domine audivi auditum tuum, et timui: *consideravi opera tua et expavi.*

Only the first sentence is from the prophet; the second is a variation on the same theme.

2 The south-east side is that where one always expects to find the foundation and dedication of any building.

3 *Zech.* iv. 2. The candlestick is set in an *octagon*, which signifies *regeneration.* (Most fonts are octagonal.)

4 Zech. iii. 9.

The number of letters in

RESPICITE 9,
MENTES 6,
Qui Es Et ... ... 7 (three words).
APERIATVR TERRA & GERMINET SALVATOREM,[1] 33 (five words).

The north face, next in order, appears to illustrate the second Person, in the emblems of the Hen and Chickens (from the lament over Jerusalem), and the Passion emblem of the Pelican in her Piety.[2] The legend, again, is chosen from the *New* Testament.

The number of letters in

NON MIHI 7,
TVORVM 6,
Qui Eras Et ... ... 9 (three words).
QVIS SEPARABIT NOS A CHARITATE CHRISTI, 33 letters (six words).

The south-west face refers, by its emblems of the Dove (upon a Serpent which is coiled about a globe) and a Hand issuing from a Sun (or Pentecostal fire), to the Third Person of the Trinity. The legend is chosen from the services of the *Church*.

The number of letters in

SOLI LABORAVI[3] ... 12,
VISITA 6,
Qui Venturus Es[4] ... 13 (three words),
CONSIDERAVI OPERA TVA DOMINE ET EXPAVI, 33 letters (six words).

The words on the central gables of each face read consecutively: RESPICITE NON MIHI SOLI

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1 Isaiah xlv. 8.
2 Dante speaks of Christ as "il nostro Pellicano," Par. xxv. 113.
3 A pun in *soli*, from the neighbourhood of the dial.
4 *Qui es* has, perhaps, a special reference to God the Father; qui *eras*, to God the Son; qui *venturus* es, to the Holy Ghost.

LABORAVI[1] ("Consider that I laboured not for myself only").

The chimney is triangular in form, and crowned with a trefoil. Upon each angle of the cornice is a shield bearing the letter A. It is possible that this is the A, the *litera salutaris* of the Roman courts, the "note of absolution" used in a religious sense in connection with the emblems of the Passion which occur upon the chimney.

The three sides bear:—

(S.E.) 1595	(N.) 1595	(S.W.) 1595
Cross, monogram and nails. [In an octagon.][2]	Agnus Dei. [In a square.][3]	Tau cross within a chalice. [In a pentagon.][4]
ESTO MIHI	ECCE	SALVS

The monogram upon the south-east face was universally in use, and nothing can be argued from its employment of any "Jesuitical leaning" of the builder.

Upon the north face, the inscription, together with the Lamb, reads, "ECCE AGNUS DEI."[5]

Upon the south-west face, SALVS is not safety, as it has been read, but salvation, and there seems to be a double allusion to the *in cruce salus* of Thomas à Kempis, and the *calicem salutaris*,[6] the chalice of salvation. Within the chalice is the "salutiferum signum," the *Tau* cross (the ancient Symbol of eternal life).

The dates or numbers upon the lodge are the most difficult of interpretation. Many chronologies were in use in Sir Thomas Tresham's day. A certain calendar,

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1 Ecclesiasticus xxxiii. 18 (Vulgate): "Consider that I laboured not for myself only, but for all them that seek learning."

2 *Regeneration*, as *ante*.

3 The square refers generally to the four Evangelists.

4 A pentagon signifies *salvation*, and often has the word *salus* inscribed within it.

The first emblem is enclosed in an *octagonal* frame; the inscription contains *eight* letters. The second emblem is enclosed in a *four-sided* frame; the inscription contains *four* letters. The third emblem is contained in a *pentagonal* frame; the inscription contains *five* letters.

5 John i. 29.

6 Calicem salutaris accepiam. Psalm 115.

however, "A Prognostication for the yeare of our Lorde God M.D. LXXVI. made and written in Salisburie, by John Securis, Maister of Arte and Phisicke," is dated "Anno mundi, 5538."[1] The date over the door, 55.55, thus undoubtedly represents the year of the world in which the lodge was begun, 1593.

Of the two dates upon the south-east side, 3898 minus 1593 gives 2305—which may be taken as the date of the Deluge; 3509 minus 1593 gives 1916—the date of the call of Abraham.

Upon the north side, of the two dates, 1641 minus 1593 gives 48, which year, A.D., may be taken as that of the death of the Virgin; 1626 minus 1593 gives 33 A.D., the date of the Passion.[2]

Upon the south-west side, of the two dates, 1580 is the year of Sir Thomas Tresham's conversion; 1595, of the completion of the Lodge, as the chimney also bears that date. 1580 is more than the mere date of Tresham's conversion. The leaders of the first Jesuit mission, Parsons and Campion, landed in England in June,[3] 1580. An association of young men of good families was formed for their protection. Campion's services were attended by throngs, and besides Sir Thomas Tresham, several noble men were reconciled to the Roman Church, among them the brother and son of the late Duke of Norfolk, Lord Henry Howard and the Earl of Arundel. There was at first general alarm, during which Parliament met in January, 1581, and passed an Act to "Restrain Her Majesty's Subjects in their due Allegiance," which made it high treason to reconcile any to the Church of Rome, or to aid or conceal those who were so doing. It was forbidden, under heavy fines, to say Mass, or to refuse

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[1] "Imprinted in Powles churchyarde, by Richard Walkins and James Roberts."

[2] Why these dates should be expressed in this enigmatical fashion is a mystery.

[3] Creighton's *Queen Elizabeth.*

attendance at the services of the Established Church—in fact, a marked date in the history of a convert.

The second symbolical building of Tresham's is considerably simpler in its interpretation. The manor of Lyveden came into the possession of the Tresham family about the middle of the fifteenth century, and, about 1540, Leland speaks of "Parte of auncient Maner Place" as still standing there, with "godely medows" about it. This "auncient Maner Place" is the Old Bield, but the present house, built either by Sir Thomas Tresham or his successors, was not the actual structure Leland saw.

"The coat-of-arms in the West Gable, which is apparently contemporaneous with the rest of the house, is probably that of Sir Lewis Tresham," the second son of Sir Thomas the Builder, who succeeded on the death of his brother Francis in the Tower. In 1719, one of the wings was entire, and the tops of the chimneys *crenellé*. The terrace of the garden also was still in existence, and the walk leading to the house planted with witch-elms. Even now "there are remains of terraces existing at intervals from the Brook by the Old Bield up to the New Bield, near which is all that is now left of the noble fish-ponds and plesaunce."

The secluded New Bield, the work of the builder, must have always been roofless, since it was left unfinished at the death of Sir Thomas. Its desolate rooms are now filled with wild plants and low elder bushes. "It stands" (writes Bridges in the early eighteenth century) "upon ground in the form of an amphitheatre, surrounded, except on the north, with Broadshaw and Lady-wood. To the east is a pretty high mount, encompassed with a broad, deep moat, with one entrance; and near it are other smaller mounts, with several walks, pointing from the house, planted with sycamores and elms." Bridges also states that the house was never roofed in, and relates that "when Major Butler, with a detachment of the Parliament forces, was in these parts, he was not able to demolish

this house, but he caused the timber to be sawed out of the walls, and carrying it to Oundle, built with it that house which is now Major Creed's."

The New Bield is an equal-armed cross[1] in plan, each side of each wing being 23 ft. long. "At the end of each wing is a handsome bay-window,[2] which reaches the entire height of the building. The bay seems to have determined the dimensions of the main sides of the wing as follows: Each side of the bay is 5 ft. long, and the canted sides are at such an angle as to form the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle, whose other sides, respectively 4 ft. and 3 ft., would be formed by prolonging the adjoining faces of the bay. The return along the main wall on each side of the bay is also 5 ft., and the whole length of the wall against which the bay is placed is, therefore, 5 + 4 + 5 + 4 + 5 = 23 feet. A consequence of this arrangement is that the end of each wing presents seven faces of 5 ft.—an incidental result which must have given infinite satisfaction to the designer."

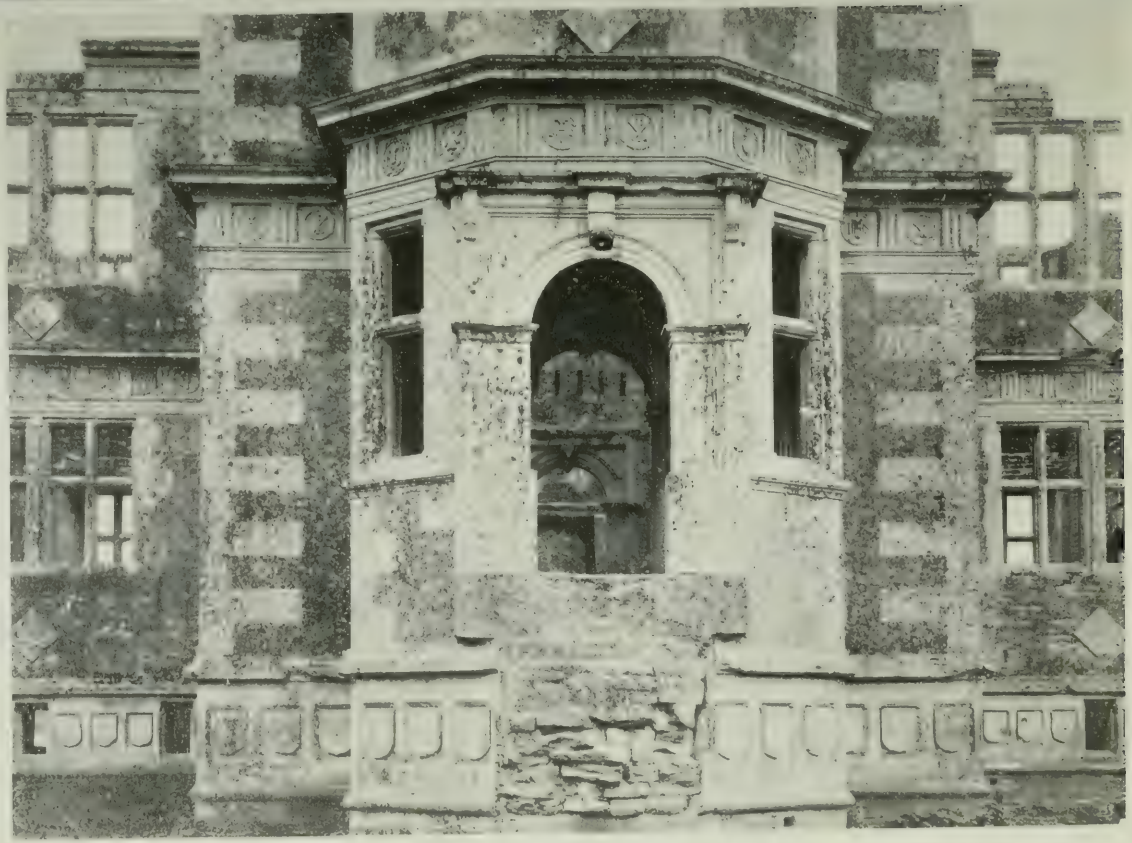
The number 5, the number of *salvation*, and 7, the number connected with the godhead, play a leading part.

Immediately above the ground floor windows is a handsome entablature, the most characteristic feature of the building; and on its frieze are carved seven emblems of the Passion:—

(1) Within a band containing the words ESTO MIHI,

1 "Tresham was not the first man in the county who had thought of a cross building for a house; for at Gayton, on the other side of Northamptonshire, there is a manor-house dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, somewhat similar in plan, though not so carefully and systematically arranged."—*Architecture of the Renaissance in England*, by J. A. Gotch.

2 "A curious feature is the south entrance. For some reason, which is not now apparent, the south wall of the bay is not quite parallel to the general direction of the building, but faces rather more to the west. The door itself is low, and was meant to be strongly barred. There still remain indications of a passage leading away from this entrance, which, from the roughness of the adjoining stone work, was clearly meant to be wholly underground. The passage leads in a south-westerly direction towards the woods, and not by any means towards the Old Bield."—*The Buildings of Sir Thomas Tresham*, by J. A. Gotch.



The Entrance, North Front. Lyveden New Building.

the Pillar, the Cross with a Crown of Thorns, the Ladder (with 5 *rungs*), the Sponge and Spear, with a Heart between them, a Cord or Scourge in the form of an S, the nails, the whole forming the monogram "I.H.S." (a group of 9). This emblem bears a strong resemblance to that upon the south-east face of the chimney of the Triangular Lodge.

(2) The monogram X.P., surrounded by a wreath of olive, bearing on *three* bosses E. T. N. "The wreath of olive (victory), combined with the monogram, signifies victory in the name of Christ."[1] "In one of the marches of Constantine," writes Gibbon, "he is reported to have seen with his own eyes the luminous trophy of the cross placed above the meridian sun, and inscribed with the following words: Ἐν Τούτῳ Νίκα.

(3) Judas' money-bag, surrounded by 30 pieces of silver.

(4) A twisted cord circumscribing swords, halberds, torches, and a lantern (7 in all). To one of the swords is adhering Malchus' ear.

(5) Within a twisted linen wreath are a *three*-thonged Scourge, the Pillar, and Crown of Thorns, the Sceptre of reeds (a group of 3). On the Pillar is a Cock, and round it is twisted a cord.

(6) The Crown of Thorns surrounds a Ladder, the Cross (surmounted by a small tau cross) with the Crown of Thorns, the Sponge, Spear, Hammer, and Pincers (5 groups).

(7) The Seamless Garment, between 3 dice, of which each shows 5 pips. In the circumscribing band are 3 helmets and 3 pairs of gauntlets.

In the frieze of the upper entablature are the remains of legends, which at one time extended all round the building. As in the Triangular Lodge, an (incised) letter is allotted to each lineal foot.

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1 Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of Christian Art.*

The legends are, commencing on the North face of the North wing:—

IESVS MVNDI SALVS.[1] GAVDE MATER VIRGO MARIA.[2] VERBVM AVTEM CRVCIS PEREVNTIBVS QVID[EM STVLTITIA EST.[3] IESVS BEATVS] VENTER QVI TE PORTAVIT.[4] [MARIA VIRGO SPONSA INNVPTA][5] . . . . T EAM ALT[6] . . . . . [BENEDIXI]T TE DEVS IN Æ[TERNVM MARIA.[7] MIHI AVTEM A] BSIT GLORIARI NISI IN CRVCE DOMINI NOSTRI XP.[8]

The words added in brackets were supplied by Bridges, but have now fallen away in decay. "In each case, the word *Jesus* would come on the face of the main wall to the left of the bay, and *Maria* in the corresponding position on the right"—another instance of the minute care which Tresham bestowed on the details of the design of his peculiar and most characteristic symbolical buildings, which show, almost more than any other form of art, an infinite capacity for taking pains.

M. JOURDAIN.

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1 "Jesus, the Salvation of the World."
2 "Rejoice, O Mary, Virgin-mother."
3 "But the word of His Cross is even foolishness to those perishing" (1 Cor. i. 18); only the original reads *enim* instead of *autem*, but it will be seen that *enim* had a letter too few.
4 "Jesus, blessed is the womb that bare Thee" (Luke xi. 27).
5 "Mary, Virgin, unwedded Spouse."
6 "Et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus" (Ps. lxxxvi. 5).
7 "God blessed thee for ever, O Mary."
8 "God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross of our Lord Christ" (Gal. vi. 14).

HOSPITAL DEDICATED TO ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AT NORTHAMPTON.[1]

THE term "Hospital" now bears a different signification from that which it had from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Down to recent times, a hospital was for the continuous sustenance and relief of poor and impotent persons, and not for the temporary cure of diseases.

The Mediæval Hospital resembled the alms-house of modern days, but with a more ecclesiastical character. It was often termed a Bede-house (*i.e.*, Prayer-house), and sometimes "Maison Dieu."

Hospitals constitute a class of establishments in some respects like the monastic establishments and the colleges of secular priests. The word "hospes," from which our term is taken, means a guest or stranger, not necessarily poor; and in the monasteries, the "hospitium" was the place of reception of strangers.

The Hospitals existing at the time of the Reformation were allowed to retain their endowments when the properties of the monastic houses were resumed by the Crown. In some cases, new charters were granted them, and encouragement to found such establishments was given to the benevolent by the 39th of Elizabeth and the 21st of James I. The monasteries had so much contributed to the relief of the poor that after the Dissolution, poor laws

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[1] The first and last parts are from an article published in the *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, 1874. The middle part from a letter to the *Northampton Herald*, Nov. 8th, 1871. Portions of technical details have been omitted.

became necessary, and the present system of poor laws is referred to in the 43rd of Elizabeth.

In the introduction to the work on *The Hospitals, etc., of the Middle Ages in England*, by F. T. Dollman, 1858, 4to, four arrangements of the building are described:—

"The component parts that appertain to nearly all of them will be found to consist of an audit room, occasionally with a muniment room adjoining; a suite of apartments, more or less extended, for the master or chaplain; an infirmary for the sick; a common hall; a suite of living-rooms for the inmates; and, lastly, a chapel, which, with becoming significance, was always more ornamental in character than the other buildings. In the relative position of these, four principal kinds of arrangement present themselves. The first, and that of which the characteristics are, perhaps, the most definite, is to be found in those instances where the abodes of the inmates were all under one spacious roof, the area being sub-divided into small dwelling-rooms or dormitories. The hall communicated directly with the chapel beyond, from which it was only separated by an open screen, thereby affording an opportunity to the sick and aged of hearing the recital of the Church's offices, from which, supposing the chapel to be a distinct building, they would otherwise have been debarred. The *motif* of this wise and thoughtful arrangement may probably have originated with the ancient monastic infirmaries, and among the examples will be found the Bede-houses at Stamford and Higham Ferrers, and St. Mary's Hospital at Chichester. The second kind is where the dwelling-rooms for the inmates were, as before, under one roof, but the chapel, though immediately contiguous to the hospital, was a distinct building, and entered without; an example of this kind is found at St. John's Hospital, Northampton. A third variation is where the abodes of the inmates formed one continuous suite of buildings, sometimes within a quadrangle, but not

like the foregoing, included under one roof, the church or chapel being altogether distinct, but connected with the hospital buildings by an ambulatory or cloister, or by a short covered way only. Examples of this kind exist at St. Cross, near Winchester; Ewelme, in Oxfordshire; and Cobham, in Kent. A fourth mode of arrangement, differing somewhat from the foregoing, is to be met with in the case of Ford's Hospital, at Coventry, where the plan consists of a central open court, on each side of which are the almoners' abodes, at one end of the quadrangle the common hall of the Hospital, and facing it, at the other end, the chapel."

* * * * *

The Hospital of St. John is on the east side of Bridge Street, within the ancient wall of the town, and near the site of the south gate. The buildings consisted of a chapel, hospital or alms-house, and master's house, which latter is now destroyed. This Hospital, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was founded about 1137 for the reception and maintenance of infirm poor, by a person who is stated to have been Archdeacon of Northampton. The Bishop of Lincoln has been, from the foundation, the patron of the Hospital, and has appointed the master. Subsequently, John Dalington, clerk, granted to the hospital funds to maintain eight poor people at twopence a day each, which charter was confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1340. In later times, the eight poor consisted of three men and five women, but whether any women were recipients in the early times is doubtful from certain injunctions in 1395.

In 1395, the Bishop of Lincoln sent certain "injunctions" to the master and brethren, which give us a good idea of the establishment as it then existed. By this document it appears that the term "brethren" was not applied, as in subsequent times, to the two chaplains, but to a more numerous body of poor men. They had a

common dormitory and refectory, in which latter guests were often present. They were to talk as little as possible; to attend divine service at the accustomed hours; to wear a dress of one colour, with a black cross on it; to abstain from drinking parties in the town; to confess their sins devoutly as they ought; to hold a chapter once a week, at which crimes and excesses were to be corrected. Two receivers were elected every year by the master and brethren to collect rents, etc., and a brother was deputed to collect alms (dues?) in the country, who was to account to the master and brethren within three days after his return to the hospital. They had also a chamberlain and a cook. The master was not to transact any important business without the consent of the brethren. The master and brethren were to use diligence to recover the rights taken away from the hospital. No novice was to be admitted unless able to sustain the burden of the choir.

Some of these injunctions appear inapplicable to the main object of the charity—the reception and maintenance of infirm poor. It appears probable that the injunctions were not to apply to the poor relieved by J. Dalington's bequests, and they mention some of the brethren as being priests. These injunctions illustrate, in a valuable manner, parts of the master's house, which, on the other hand, explains the injunctions.

A great change seems to have been made between that date and 1535, at which date, though the possessions of the Hospital were large, the establishment consisted of a master, two chaplains, and eight poor people, paid 1s. 2d. a week each, three being men and five being women.

It appears, then, that between 1340 and 1535 the brethren who at the first date were supported by the original endowment, had (except two priests) ceased to exist, and that the proceeds of the Hospital estates (except Dalington's bequest) were, in 1546, consumed by the stipends of the master, the two priests, and the eight poor folk.

In 1546, the Hospital retained large possessions, and the establishment was as in 1535, and, it is stated, "to keep hospitality."

We then come to the charter of Charles I. (1630), and this the Commissioners presume, in the absence of the original endowment, must be considered the governing charter at the present day. The charter is printed in full in the Report on Charities, and in the *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*. It will be seen that the two chaplains or co-brothers are not mentioned in the charter, but we may infer that they existed at the time, and were assumed to be part of the establishment, for they were existing but a short time previous to the charter, and were existing a short time after it, and there is no passage in the charter which implies that they were to be discontinued. As a matter of fact, they were not discontinued. The charter of 1630 is the first existing document in which "orphans" are mentioned.

* * * * *

CHAPEL.

Considerable repairs and restorations were made to the Chapel by the Charity Commissioners in 18—. At that time the whole south wall was rebuilt. The present windows are said to have been indicated by fragments found in the wall, but the windows in the south wall, previous to the rebuilding, were round-headed single lights of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The present south doorway is probably in the original place, but the form of the previous one is not now known. The main entrance is in the west end. The north wall has no door or window in it. The east wall has in it a three-light pointed window, with tracery in the head, and hood-mould, rather late in the Decorated style. The cross on the east gable is modern.

The west front is complete, and is a very good example of Perpendicular. It had double buttresses at the north

west and south-west angles, with a set-off in the middle and a plinth. Those on the north-west angle remain intact, though partly inclosed in the kitchen of a public-house; but those on the south-west angle were almost entirely destroyed when the north-east angle of the domicile was attached to the chapel.

The west doorway is 4 ft. 8½ ins. wide, and has a two-centred pointed head, almost a half-circle, under a square hood-mould. The spandrels contain deeply-sunk quatre-foils with square flowers. The jambs and arch are of mouldings of rolls and hollows, which die into a plain chamfer. The original double doors remain. Each door contains one arch sub-divided by a mullion and transom. Each sub-division has a pointed arch in the head filled with tracery, and a half-circular one below the transom, also containing tracery; quatre-foils being the principal ornament. The top of the hood-mould of the door is part of a string which is carried across the west front.

Above this doorway is a fine five-light window, the head is a four-centered *arch* under a hood-mould. The five lights are of equal width, and each is sub-divided in the head. The heads of the main lights are sept-foils, and of the sub-lights are tre-foils. On the gable above is a patriarchal cross (four arms), which is stated to be original.

The roof is entirely new, and is framed in five compartments with tie-beams, collar-beams, and curved braces, which descend below the tie-beams, and rest on modern corbels of heads. I have not ascertained what the previous roof was in form, but probably cotemporary with the debased windows in the late south wall. The covering is of slates. There is a modern wooden turret for one bell.

The west end is 5 ft. 8½ ins. wider than the body of the chapel, reckoning from out to out of the buttresses which project west, and three solutions of the oddity may be suggested. It is doubtful whether the north wall is, and the late south wall was, original. Either (firstly) they are

nearer together than the original walls, which corresponded with the width of the west end; or (secondly) the west end took the place of an earlier end of the width of the present chapel, and of the style of the present east window, decorated, and was made wider than the walls *in preparation* for a wider chapel, which never was built; or (thirdly) the north-east and south walls are of sixteenth or seventeenth century, and the east window re-used.

The springers of the coping of the west gable are in the proper position for the existing roof. Therefore, if the west end was in preparation for a wider chapel, the springers were left to be put into the proper position when such wider chapel was built; or if the chapel was made narrower after the building of the west end, the springers were moved to suit the new side walls.

On the whole, it seems probable that the chapel once agreed in width with the west end, and that the whole of the north, south, and east walls were rebuilt on a narrower plan, leaving the west end as it was, and re-using the east window. See further reference to this oddity under the account of the Domicile.

In the east window are remains of stained glass.

DOMICILE.

The west end is apparently of the fourteenth century. A sunk pointed arch fills a large part of it, within which is the entrance—a doorway with pointed arch and good moulding. Over this doorway is the remains of a niche for a statue.

Over the apex of the large arch is a circular window of four pairs of lights, each three-foiled, radiating from a four-foil. The four spandrels between the pairs of lights are cusped in six-foils. A hood-mould encircles the whole, and dies into the hood-mould of the large arch.

The buttress at the north-west angle is of the same date as the part of the north wall joining it, and later than the west end.

In the middle of the south wall is the staircase window, which is of three lights, each five-foiled in the head, and under an obtuse-pointed arch with hood-mould. The jambs are of two hollow chamfers. In it are considerable remains of coloured glass, containing parts of figures, etc., much mutilated. The words "Ric Sherd" occur in several places on a scroll. He became master in 1474, and probably this window and the whole south wall were built by him on the site of an older wall. The whole of the wall, however, except this central part, was rebuilt about 1700 or 1750. Rectangular windows, with wooden frames, were made above and below. The east wall is of the same date.

From the west door is a passage, 4 ft. wide, to the east door. On the north of the passage, at the west end, is a coal-room lit by a two-light mullioned window; a scullery, with a small pointed doorway to the court and a two-light mullioned window; a hall lit by two windows of three lights, evidently by the same builder as the staircase window; and to the east a kitchen, which is lit by a two-light mullioned window on the north and a wooden frame window on the east. In the kitchen is a large fire-place, to accommodate which a projection is attached to the north wall.

Although the division of the hall and kitchen is apparently modern, and the situation of the large fireplace in the kitchen (close to the partition) favours that notion, yet the construction of the frame of the roof over the centre of the hall looks as if that frame alone was open to the hall. Possibly, then, the large fireplace in the kitchen, and the projection for it, are not so early as the two hall windows, and there was at first a partition in the position of the present one.

It is not probable that if a partition existed in the present position, that the fireplace would have been placed so close to it without any reason for such a position; but it may have been so placed to give room for a two-light

mullioned window on the east of the large fireplace, and on the west of the chimney is a set-off, which, perhaps, indicates a *widening* of the fireplace in that direction. There is, however, a reason why the fireplace may have been so placed.

The east wall of the domicile is of the date of the south wall. Evidently the domicile, at one time, was shorter, and did not join the chapel as it now does, for the buttresses at the south-west angle of the chapel were once complete. The upper part of one still shews above the domicile roof, and in the east upper room are traces of alterations, as if the buttresses had been cut away. The reason for the east frame of the roof so close to the east wall is not explicable, unless for an extension of the building.

The hall and staircase windows are more modern than the west end of the chapel, which is more modern than the west end of the domicile. The upper and lower windows on the east of the chimney did not co-exist with the south-west buttresses of the chapel and the original east end of the domicile.

It appears, then, that the only remains of the domicile in its first state is the west end; that the west end and the parts of the west and south walls containing the arched windows, and perhaps that containing the north doorway, are the remains of the domicile in its second state; that the east end was lengthened, and the mullioned windows on the north built to form its third state; and that, in addition, the main part of the south wall and the east end, as now existing, form its fourth state. Probably the roof is cotemporary with the arched windows.

On the south side of the passage is a flight of stairs north and south. Just under the sill of the south window, before mentioned, is a landing, from which two flights of stairs, east and west, lead to two upper chambers, which are said to have been the rooms for the two co-brethren, but long disused for that purpose. On the south side, on

the ground, are seven bed-rooms for the inmates. The roof is framed in six compartments, and a small piece between the east frame and the east wall. Each frame has a tie-beam and collar-beam, but the struts differ. The second and fourth frames from the west end form parts of stud partitions, which descend to the floor of the upper rooms.

The west room is the whole width of the building, and 24 ft. long on the south wall. It is lit by two mullioned windows on the north, and two wooden-frame windows on the south, and by the circular window in the west end. It has a fireplace in the south-west angle. It reaches to the roof, and appears never to have had any ceiling or casing of boards. It occupies two bays of roof. The third and fourth bays of roof are over the hall, and the frame between them has queen-posts and curved studs chamfered. The fourth frame from the west forms part of a stud partition.

The east room is of the whole width of the building, and 20 ft. 6 ins. long. It is lit by one two-light mullioned window on the north, and by two wooden-frame windows on the south. In the north wall is a fireplace with moulded jambs and wooden lintels. The room reaches, like the west room, to the roof. The covering of the roof is of Collyweston slates, graduated. The gable crosses are modern.

JOHN DRYDEN IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

ONE of the greatest of literary names—for there is a singular unanimity in allowing John Dryden a certain claim to greatness—is linked with Northamptonshire. While it may be disputed whether he was a great poet, "it may be said of him, as Wordsworth said of Burke, that he was by far the greatest man of his age, not only abounding in knowledge himself, but feeding, in various directions, his most able contemporaries." To turn a satiric couplet of his own, by the alteration of a single word, from an insult to a compliment, we may say that he, at any rate during his last decade,

> "In prose and verse was owned without dispute
> Within the realms of *English* absolute."

It is a curious fact, and constantly brought home to us in tracing the history of Dryden, how little contemporary literature has to tell us concerning him. Even Dr. Johnson, who contemplated a more elaborate biography than was possible in his "Lives of the Poets," was forced to abandon the idea through lack of trustworthy material. As a matter of fact, the slight sketch which Johnson has given us errs in many details, which is strange, considering that barely eighty years had passed since Dryden's death.

The first member of the Dryden family of whom we have at present any knowledge is a certain William Driden[1]

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1 It is possible that the pedigree might be traced further back in the county of Cumberland. All printed pedigrees of the Dryden family have for their origin the *Visitation of Northamptonshire*, 1619. Dryden being a place-name in Scotland, it seems possible that the country north of the Tweed might claim to have been their original home.

or Dreyden (the name is variously quoted), of Walton, in the county of Cumberland, about the end of the fifteenth century. His son, David, married Isabel, daughter of William Nicholson, of Staffe Hill, and was the father of John Driden, who migrated into Northamptonshire, there marrying Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Cope, of Copes Ashby—a recently-suppressed monastery, subsequently known as Canons Ashby. It is uncertain how this John Driden acquired the lands on which he settled, seemingly, immediately adjacent to the monastery, afterwards the Cope dwelling-house. In the middle of the sixteenth century it is recorded that he possessed there a mansion and portion of an estate which is described as "parcel of his inheritance." He was certainly a man of substance, and judging from his last will and testament, in which he bequeaths his "soul to Almighty God my Creator, . . . the Holy Ghost assuring my spirite that I am the elect of God," it is evident that, like many of his successors, he was a staunch Puritan. In the church of Canons Ashby may be seen a brass to a civilian of the latter part of the sixteenth century. The figure is clothed in a long gown, purfled with fur, having pendant, demi-canonical sleeves, and no doubt represents this John Driden; for "although I doe not allow of pomp in burialls, yet for some reasonable considerations I will that the stone I have allready prepared shall be layde on my grave, and my armes and my wyve's graven in brass thereupon."

The eldest living son, Erasmus, in 1584 inherited the major portion of the estates, and having been successively Sheriff of the county and M.P. for Banbury, was created a Baronet in 1619. Sir Erasmus Dryden's third son, also called Erasmus, was father to the poet. Anthony Wood informs us that the first Baronet was a godson of the great scholar of Rotterdam, which is the reason why that Christian name descends among "the family of the Dreydens of that country, some of whom (he adds) have gloried

in it in my hearing." Later enquiry, however, indicates that such may have been the case with regard to Erasmus Cope, who, in turn, probably transmitted it to his sister's child.

After this slight outline of the poet's more remote ancestors, we come to his father, who is described as "of Tichmarsh." Here we enter what may justly be termed the poet's country. On all sides are scenes intimately associated with his memory—Aldwinkle, his birthplace; Tichmarsh, the home of his father; Pilton, where his parents were married; and lastly Cotterstock, a favourite resting-place of his old age.

On marrying a daughter of the Rev. Henry Pickering, Rector of Aldwinkle All Saints', and a niece of the squire, Sir John Pickering, a member of a strongly Puritan family, in favour in Cromwell's administration, Erasmus Dryden not unnaturally settled in that neighbourhood. Of his home there seems to be no trace, nor can we identify its site.

Why the poet's parents betook themselves to Pilton to be made man and wife is unknown. But the fact remains that in the register of that little church among the marriages we read the entry, on October 21st, 1630, of "Erasmus Dreydon and Mary Pickering." Within a year of this date, on the 9th of August, 1631, in the old parsonage-house, the maiden home of his mother, John Dryden was born. The building, as it now stands, is a long low-thatched house, still retaining portions which are of a date prior to Dryden's birth; and together with its garden, overshadowed by the church and a pleasant group of trees, forms a picturesque introduction to the village. Above the entrance is the room in which the poet is said to have first seen the light, and which has been shewn uninterruptedly since that event. Were the early registers in existence, we might also find the record of the poet's baptism, but none, unfortunately, are preserved before the year 1650—a fact which gave a handle to contemporary

calumniators, who declared Dryden to be "a bristled Baptist bred."

The poet's youthful remembrances must have been restricted mainly to the surroundings of Tichmarsh, his father's home. Here, according to an epitaph by Mrs. Creed, an admiring cousin, he was "bred and had his first learning." "Here," to quote the same authority, "he has often made us happie by his kind visits and most delightful conversation." As a boy, doubtless Dryden spent many hours around the cedar tree—said to have been a seedling in 1607—whose grand boughs still sweep the lawn of Tichmarsh Rectory. Between Cotterstock and Chesterton, two homes of his kinsfolk, lies the mound studded with ancient thorn trees, and looking down upon the silent Nen, which is all that remains of the castle of Fotheringhay.

It is a remarkable fact that Dryden himself makes scarcely any references to his early days. In his poems he hardly ever strikes a personal note. It is quite possible, all the same, to picture to one's self the pursuits which would inevitably commend themselves to a country-born boy in a remote village—the bird-nesting and fishing expeditions along the banks of the slow-flowing Nen, where, in later days, the poet ensnared "a lusty pike" for some unexpected guests; and the lingering talks with rustics rich in stories of witchcraft and old-world folklore.

On the 18th of April, 1644, when Dryden was thirteen years of age, the news must have come of the exciting skirmish at Canons Ashby, the home of his uncle. It seems that a party of Parliamentarian infantry, whose duty it was to collect money in the Banbury district, had taken up their quarters at the house of Sir John Dryden. During the night they were attacked by the Royalists, superior in number, and were obliged to take refuge in the church. After two hours' desperate fighting, whilst the small party manfully held their position in the steeple, a petard was attached to the door, an entrance effected, and the Parliamentarians taken and carried prisoners to Banbury

Such tales as these must have fired the imagination of the boy Dryden. From an artistic point of view, however, one cannot but regret the absence of more definite evidence to connect him with Canons Ashby.

It may, indeed, be urged that the poet could hardly have fallen in love with his cousin Honor, except as a visitor to her father's house. Anne, a younger daughter, in the postscript of a letter to her father at his lodgings in Chancery Lane, writes: "My sister Frances and myselfe humbly begs of you to let Mr. Conseat come down this sumer." This Mr. Conceit—to modernise the spelling—has been concluded to refer to the poet, then at Cambridge, a portionless suitor whose attentions would not have been looked on with much pleasure by an ambitious parent. However this may be, few writers have resisted the temptation to re-people the gardens of the old house with the poet and his early love. Here they bid us see the lovers conversing with more than cousinly tenderness or wandering under the moonlight down the trim yew walks. It is certainly a prettily painted picture, and the fact that Honor Driden never married may be advanced in favour of an abiding affection on her side.

The poet, we know, consoled himself by marrying Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Henry, Earl of Berkshire, a lady whose character has been somewhat harshly criticised on grounds too slight to justly base any conclusions.

Near Canons Ashby is Blakesley, a village where the poet possessed a small estate of about two hundred acres. Its proceeds have been estimated to have equalled about two hundred a year of our present money, and were brought to London by the Towcester carrier, "who lodges at the Castle in Smithfield." The poet, we are informed, was an excellent landlord, and never raised the rents a shilling in his life—this on the authority of a grandson of the poet's tenant, who as lately as 1798 lived on the same lands.

Rushton is yet another link with the poet's later life.

Here it is stated that he composed "The Hind and the Panther" whilst on one of his frequent visits to his friend, Brian Cockayne, second Lord Cullen. A moss-covered urn, which replaces one of older erection, marks the spot where the poet is said to have walked, and bears the following inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF
DRYDEN
WHO FREQUENTED THESE SHADES
AND IS HERE SAID
TO HAVE COMPOSED HIS POEM
OF THE
HIND & PANTHER.

The neighbourhood of Rushton, on the southern fringe of the great forest of Rockingham, is indeed wonderfully consonant to the scenery of the poem.

In tracing the connection of John Dryden with the county alone, one must necessarily pass over much that is interesting from a general point of view—with his literary struggles, with his religious convictions, with his change of politics we are not now concerned. It must be permitted, however, to stray a few miles across the Huntingdonshire border to Chesterton, the home of his kinsman, John Driden, who preserved, like others of the family, the more ancient spelling. The poet's cousin was a man of sporting tastes, a lover of the country, and the owner of a pack of "well-breathed beagles." Being "lord of himself, uncumbered with a wife," his sister Honor, the poet's early love, kept house for him—a circumstance which probably added to the charm of a visit. Chesterton, from an engraving in existence, appears to have been a good-sized gabled house, situated near to the church, and surrounded with fine timber. It originally came into the family through the marriage of Sir John Driden with his third wife, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Bevil. In

those well-known verses, "To my honour'd kinsman," the poet says:—

> "The first-begotten has his father's share,
> But you, like Jacob, are Rebecca's heir,"

referring to the Huntingdonshire property having fallen to the second son.

Towards the close of his life, the poet was an occasional visitor to Chesterton, where a picture of him by Kneller hung until the destruction of the house in 1807. Here it was that the first four lines of his translation of Virgil were inscribed with a diamond on a pane of glass.

Mrs. Creed, of Oundle, the daughter of Sir Gilbert Pickering, has been already mentioned as the composer of an epitaph in Tichmarsh Church. She was an indefatigable writer of memorial verse, and an artist of some local repute as a church decorator. Mrs. Steward, her daughter, was also a favoured friend of the poet's. This lady was married to Elmes Steward, a noted sportsman, the owner of Cotterstock Hall, a house of Tudor origin, where Dryden passed the few weeks of relaxation which he allowed himself each summer during the two last years of his life. It was from Cotterstock, too, whence he drew those supplies of inestimable "marrow puddings," those presents of game and "chines of honest bacon," which, together with constant friendly letters, did much to smooth the hard road of old age.

The earliest is dated October 1st, 1698:—

"MADAM,—You have done me the honour to invite so often that it would look like want of respect to refuse it any longer. How can you be so good to an old decrepid man, who can entertain you with no discourse which is worthy of your good sense, and who can only be a trouble to you in all the time he stays at Cotterstock? . . . My son kisses your hand. Be pleased to give his humble service to my cousin Steward, and mine who am, Madam,

"Your most obedient, obliged servant,

"JOHN DRYDEN."

The next is dated November 20th, 1698, and is written to Mr. Steward:—

"MY HONOUR'D COUSIN,—You are pleased to invite another trouble on yourself which our bad company may possibly draw upon you next year if I have life and health to come into Northamptonshyre, and that you will please not to make such a stranger of me another time. I intend my wife" (Lady Elizabeth Dryden was in London) "shall taste the plover you did me the favour to send me."

Three days after he writes again to Mrs. Steward:—

"If your house be so often molested, you will have reason to be weary of it before the ending of the year, and wish Cotterstock were planted in a desert an hundred miles from any poet."

On Candlemas Day he writes again:—

"Old men are not so insensible of beauty as it may be you young ladies think. . . I would also flatter myself with the hopes of waiting on you at Cotterstock sometime next summer; but my want of health may perhaps hinder me. . . . I pass my time sometimes with Ovid and sometimes with one old English poet, Chaucer; translating such stories as best please my fancy, and intend besides them to add somewhat of my own; so that it is not impossible, but ere the summer be pass'd, I may come down to you with a volume in my hand like a dog out of the water with a duck in his mouth."

Mrs. Steward is handed down to us as being a remarkably witty woman, whilst her beauty was famous among the frequenters of Queen Mary's Court. She apparently kept up a correspondence with the poet till his death. In one letter extant, Dryden begs the loan of the Steward coach to visit his cousin at Chesterton, five miles away. In another to her husband, he says: "If either your lady or you shall at any time honour me with a letter, my house is in Gerard-street, the fifth door on the left-hand comeing from Newport-street." At intervals we find Dryden returning thanks for her attentions, and on one occasion he petitions for some "small beer to be brew'd for me without hops or with a very unconsiderable quantity, because I lost my health last year by drinking bitter beer at Tichmarsh."

Such was the nature of the intercourse between John

Dryden and his "cousine." Sometimes he playfully refers to himself as "an old cripple who calls himself your most obliged kinsman and admirer." Now we find him postponing his arrival at Cotterstock, and pleading as an excuse that the country is too "agueish" at that time of year; and on his return from one of these restful sojourns he describes with quaint humour the inmates of the coach which carried him back to London.

The exact number of visits paid to the Stewards it is difficult to determine, but no doubt an important part of the "Fables" were composed at Cotterstock Hall.

Within three weeks of despatching his final letter to Mrs. Steward, the poet was dead. In "The Postboy" for April 30th, 1700, we read that "John Dryden, Esquire, the famous poet, lies a-dying." By three o'clock the following morning death had come. It was a simple end—simple as the plain monument in Westminster Abbey standing forth from its dark chapel background to remind us of the man whose strivings have ceased for more than two centuries.

PERCY DRYDEN MUNDY.

QUEEN ELEANOR'S CROSSES.

"When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
And broils root out the work of masonry,
Not Mars his sword, nor war's quick fire shall turn
The living record of your memory.
'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
Shall you pace forth."

ONE of the striking features of Northamptonshire is the possession of two out of the original twelve to fifteen crosses erected by Edward I. to the memory of his Queen, Eleanor, of which there are now but three remaining. Wherever her body rested at night, on its last journey from Hardby in Nottinghamshire to the Abbey of Westminster, he left a superb tribute to the memory of a noble wife and gracious Queen. There is but one other instance of such a series of monuments in the world—those erected to St. Louis of France, which are now all destroyed. On his way to the Crusade of 1270, St. Louis fell sick at Tunis, where he died. His body was taken to Paris, and from Paris it was carried on men's shoulders to St. Denis, and wherever it rested on the way thither a monument was afterwards erected.[1] It is probable that Edward obtained the idea, which he afterwards carried out, during his stay at Paris, on his return from Palestine in 1273.

The daughter of Ferdinand, King of Castile and Leon, Eleanor's marriage with Prince Edward, when he was but fifteen years old, was a stroke of policy by which Henry III.

[1] These monuments were towers 40 ft. high; they were put up by Louis' son Philip (1270-86), and were destroyed in the Revolution.

QUEEN'S CROSS, GEDDINGTON.

secured from her brother Alfonso a renunciation of all the Spanish claims on Gascony in favour of Edward. The marriage took place at Burgos in 1254, and Edward remained for a year as Governor of Gascony. Eleanor preceded him to England in October, 1255, where she arrived with a great retinue and a very scanty wardrobe,[1] and was conducted to Westminster by the King and Court, the Mayor, citizens, and clergy of London, who went forth in solemn array to meet her. The ambassadors who had preceded her had adorned her apartments at Westminster with costly hangings,[2] like a church, and carpeted them after the Spanish fashion—the first occasion, it is believed, when carpets were used in England; the Spaniards had adopted them from the Moors.

Nineteen years later, in 1274, she was crowned with her husband, at Westminster Abbey, with unusually great splendour. Throughout her life, Queen Eleanor was the devoted companion of her husband, seldom being separated from him, even on his perilous journeys. The tradition that she saved his life in the Holy Land by sucking the poison from a wound he had received from the envenomed dagger of an assassin is not corroborated. According to Knighton,[3] the King, when his wound was to be dressed, ordered her to be carried out of the room, "she shrieking and making great lamentation." The Exchequer Rolls give instances of valuable presents made to his wife by Edward: a cup of gold was a New Year's gift in 1286; at another time, a pitcher of gold, enamelled, and set with precious stones, which was purchased of William Faringdon, goldsmith, of London.[4]

Holinshed (1577), an Elizabethan historian, records her traditional character as "a godlie and modest Princesse full of pitie and one that shewed much favour to the

[1] Menus bene munita hernesio. Claus. 39, Hen. 3, m. 2.
[2] M. Paris, 783.
[3] 1400 *cir.*
[4] Accounts of Queen Eleanor's Executors, *Manners and Household Expenses of England*, Roxburgh Club.

English nation, readie to relieve everie man's grief that sustained wrong, and to make them friends that were at discord as far as in her laie." There is, however, another side of the shield: she appears to have borne hard upon her overburdened tenants; so much so, that Archbishop Peckham, writing to the "tres haute dame Alianor," after thanking her for her present of good venison from the New Forest, warns her that "lately passing by our town near Dover, which is called Westcliffe, I heard by the complaint of the people of the town that they are destroyed and oppressed because more is demanded of them for the farm of the town than it amounts to. Besides this, for God's sake, my lady, when you receive land or manor acquired by usury of Jews, take heed that usury is a mortal sin to those who take the usury and those who support it, and those who have a share of it, if they do not return it. And therefore I say to you, my very dear lady, before God and before the court of Heaven, that you cannot retain things thus acquired, if you do not make amends to those who have lost them, in another way, as much as they are worth more than the principal debt. My lady, know that I am telling you the lawful truth."[1]

Later, Peckham was obliged again to remonstrate, in 1286, with the Queen, for acquiring lands which the Jews extorted from Christians; which practice had become a "scandal and byword" in the country. From this "illicit and damned" gain she is required in future to abstain, to restore the property, and satisfy the sufferers, otherwise she may not obtain absolution, even if an angel were to assert the direct contrary.[2]

The refined and beautiful countenance shown in the gilt latten effigy by Master William Torel, goldsmith, in the Abbey, might seem to repel the idea of such untoward characteristics. But that figure is a mere conventional

[1] Page 619, Vol. II., *Registrum Epistolarium* (J. Peckham, Arch. Cant.).
[2] *Ibid*, p. 938, Vol. III.

representation, though of the highest value as a mediæval standard of feminine grace and beauty.

It is, however, certain that the life of Edward and Eleanor was one of singular concord: "I loved her tenderly in her lifetime," wrote the King to Eleanor's friend, the Abbot of Clugny; "I do not cease to love her now she is dead." Holinshed thus records her death: "In the nineteenth yeare of King Edward (1291) Queene Eleanor King Edward's wife died upon St. Andrew's Even at Hirdebie or Hirdbie[1] (as some have), neere to Lincoln the King being as then on his waie towards the borders of Scotland; but having now lost the Jewell which he most esteemed he returned towards London to accompanie the corps unto Westminster."

The Queen's body was embalmed,[2] the coffin filled with spices, and the sad procession, with King Edward as chief mourner, together with all his retinue, set forth from Lincoln on the fourth of December for Grantham or Newark; from thence they passed to Stamford; and so next day through Northamptonshire, to Geddington. The King, having a palace at Geddington, marked it out as one of the stages in the somewhat lengthy route to Westminster, which was arranged to pass through suitable resting-places, in most of which were great religious houses. The procedure in each case was probably the same as is recorded in the *Annals of Dunstable:* "Her body passed through us, and rested one night. And two precious cloths, to wit, baudekyns,[3] were given unto us. Of wax we had eighty pounds and more. And when the body of the said Queen was departing from Dunstable, the bier rested in the centre of the market-place until the King's chancellor and the great men who then were present there had marked out a fitting place where they

[1] There is little doubt it was the village of Hardby, in Nottinghamshire, near Lincoln.

[2] There is an entry (Wardrobe Book, 18 Edw. I.) for barley for stuffin the body.

[3] Tissue of Cloth of Gold, with figures embroidered in silk.

might afterwards erect, at the royal expense, a cross of noticeable size; our prior being then present, and sprinkling holy water."

At length, the body was buried on the 16th of January, at Westminster, in the tomb of King Henry III. Her bowels had been taken out, and interred under the east window of Lincoln Cathedral, and her heart enclosed in a separate case and buried in the choir of the Black Friars Church, opposite Bridewell, of which both she and the King were great benefactors. Skilful artificers were called upon to decorate the place of its entombment; but with the Reformation, Sir T. Cawarden bought the church, and destroyed all traces of it.[1]

Holinshed also relates how, ever afterwards, Edward gave alms every Wednesday wherever he went "to all such poor folks as came to demand the same." The churches at each place where the Crosses were erected, besides others, such as the Monastery of Peterborough, Edward endowed with lands to pay for a perpetual commemoration of the Queen's death. To the Abbey of Westminster was given manors and lands in Warwickshire; and Dugdale, in his history of that county, gives details of the magnificent celebrations that were ordered to be held there for her soul and the souls of all the faithful deceased, and which continued for two hundred and fifty years until the Reformation: "ut siquid maculae, non purgatae in ipsa . . . . remansit, per utilia orationum vestrarum praesidia, juxta divinae misericordiae plenitudinem, abstergatur."[2]

Besides these masses for her soul, "In everie town and place where the corps rested by the waie the King caused a cross of cunning workmanship to be erected in remembrance of her, and in the same was a picture of her engraven."

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[1] A theatre afterwards took its place, now supplanted, it is believed, by the *Times* printing office.

[2] In a circular letter addressed by Edward to various prelates and abbots: Rymer's *Foedera;* under the head of *De orando pro Regina.*

Of the three crosses now remaining, Geddington has by far the most successfully defied the work of time and restoration. It remains intact, save for the possible loss of a cross at the top; the design, however, in its present state is practically finished, and it is uncertain whether it was terminated with a cross or not: probably it had an ornamental triangular shaft ending in a pinnacle. Its situation in the centre of a village, under constant supervision, has doubtless largely contributed to preserving it in its relatively perfect state.

Its greatest trials must have arisen from the horrible sport of stoning squirrels on Easter Monday—a relic of the old forest sports. The cross is set over a stream of water, where thirsty travellers of the middle ages would have stopped to refresh themselves and pray for the repose of the soul of the Queen of "good memory." This cross is not mentioned in the accounts of the Queen's executors, which end in 1294, so either it was erected after that date or Edward himself bore the cost. The design, of a triangular plan, is uncommon, and both in feeling and execution it differs from the other crosses. It is considered the best and most elegant of the three. It is divided into three[1] stories, of which the first is solid, and between the shafts, on a curved face, it is carved with beautiful diaper-work of roses, and with six shields displaying the arms of England, and the Queen's arms of Castile, Leon, and of Ponthieu which she had inherited in right of her mother. The second story contains the sculptured figures of the Queen—which are very inferior to those at Northampton and Waltham—so situated as to face the supporting shafts of the canopies above, an arrangement which somewhat spoils their effect, but is necessary to carry out the design of the whole. The third story is hexagonal, formed of slender pinnacles crowned with small

[1] The stone is chiefly Weldon, with string courses of the harder Stanion. The height is nearly 42 ft.

crocketed gables ornamented with oak leaves, and surmounted by an ornament like a *fleur-de-lys*.

The cross is only known to have been restored twice—first in 1800, when the steps were repaired and re-set, and secondly in 1890, when certain repairs to the upper part were made under the direction of Sir Arthur Blomfield.

The next stage from Geddington was Northampton, where doubtless the body rested in the church of the Cluniac nuns of De-la-Pré, in the parish of Hardingstone, as the spot selected for the cross was the rise of the hill above the Abbey on the London road. This, like the crosses of Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, and St. Albans, was the workmanship of John de Bello or de la Bataille—"Cementarius"—except the statues and the head, which were the work of William of Ireland.

The following extracts are from the Executors' Accounts:—

Cross.	Item to John de Bello in part payment for making the Crosses at Northampton and St. Albans . .	xl marks.
Works.	Item to Robert son of Henry of Northampton for making the causeway there for the soul of the Queen[1]	£20
Cross.	Item to William of Ireland in part payment of 25 marks, for making five figures for the cross of Northampton, and elsewhere	5 marks.
Cross.	Item to Robert of Corfe by the hand of William Le Blund his brother, in part payment for 3 shafts, 3 rings, and 3 heads[2] for the Crosses of Waltham, Northampton and Lincoln	7 marks.
Cross.	Item to Master William of Ireland in part payment of £25 for making the images, the shaft, the head, and the ring of the cross of Northampton . .	5 marks.
Cross.	Item to William of Bernak, mason, for the carriage of four images to the cross of Northampton, and for the carriage of the head and lance of the same cross from London to Northampton .	73s. 4d.

1 A portion of this causeway still borders the road.
2 This was Purbeck marble, brought to London by ship.

Queen's Cross, Northampton.

The "Queen's" cross is of three stories,[1] on a base of several steps, that add much to the general height and dignity. The first story is octagonal, having a buttress at each angle, and each side is divided perpendicularly into two panels under a pointed arch with a crocketed pediment; an open book on a lectern is a very peculiar ornament placed on the dividing rib on each alternate side. At the top of each panel is a shield suspended from foliage of different patterns, bearing respectively the arms of England, Ponthieu, and Castile and Leon quarterly.

The shields of Castile and Leon, on Queen Eleanor's tomb at Westminster, and on her crosses, are the earliest examples in England on which two distinct heraldic ensigns are marshalled by quartering; these arms were first adopted by her father, Ferdinand III., on the union of Castile and Leon under his rule.

Much difference of opinion has existed as to the genuineness of the tracery in the panels and of the cresting surmounting the first story, but Mr. Law conclusively proved that they were part of the original design, and quoted regarding the singularly depressed ogee over the shields, similar examples of the same period, a window at Northfleet Church, Kent, and one in St. Mary Stratford, Suffolk. The peculiar character of the cusping is also found in the blank arcade of the Chapter House, Wells. Of the cresting, Mr. Law proved that one of the original stones still remaining (on the north-west angle) goes in under the buttress; thus it is extremely improbable to have been of modern insertion.

The second story is a solid square pier surrounded by eight shafts supporting as many canopies and pinnacles finely crocketed and terminated with bouquets of foliage. Against each side of the square stands the figure of the

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[1] According to the late Mr. Law, the stone used came from Helmdon, in the south of the county, from quarries long since closed. Time has proved the wisdom of its choice.

Queen, facing the four points of the compass, as do the open books below.

The third story is square panelled with tracery, and surmounted by the same graceful style of crocketed gables. What the original termination was has given rise to much speculation, but will probably never be known. The broken shaft was placed there at the restoration by Mr. Blore in 1840, and is fittingly left to show the incompleteness of the Cross. It is improbable that it was another statue, and there seems much to favour Mr. Scriven's interesting deductions[1] as to the termination having been a shaft with an elaborate carved head representing the Crucifixion, similar in style to the heads still remaining on a very few mediæval crosses. The examples given by Mr. Scriven are in Somerset: Chewton Mendip, Stringston, and Tellisford. Somersby, in Lincolnshire, though of a later period, has preserved its head, unique in England, in still better condition.

The statues of the Queen were attributed by Flaxman to an Italian, of the school of Pisano, by reason of their artistic ability, but the Executors' Accounts clearly prove they were the work of William of Ireland, "imaginator," and they would appear to have been modelled from the effigy in Westminster Abbey. The very similar effigy to the Queen's statues—that of Scholastica de Meaux, at Gayton, close by—was doubtless the work of the same "imaginator." They are examples of our best period of English monumental figure sculpture, graceful in their draperies, and full of dignity and classic beauty.

Much of the cross has been restored, but it has been truly said that without restorations there would be but scanty remains of this beautiful work of art left to us now. The first restoration we know of was in 1713, by order of the Justices of the County, who caused to be added a cross *pattée* on the summit, disfigurements of

[1] "The Missing Termination of Queen Eleanor's Cross at Northampton." R. G. Scriven. *Associated Architectural Societies' Report*, 1886.

four sun-dials on the upper, and on the lower story a long-winded inscription on a hideous marble tablet, reciting all the glories of the reign of Queen Anne. With these exceptions, the work would appear to have been extraordinarily well done.

In 1762 further repairs were commemorated by another inscription. In 1840 a thorough renovation took place under Mr. Blore, who removed the cross *pattée*, the sun-dials, and the tablets. He entirely rebuilt one gable, and restored the others; the shields of arms were recut, excepting two, and the cresting at the top of the first story was largely renewed. In 1884 the condition of the cross was again under consideration, but little was really needed, except the renewal of the steps, which was carried out in hard Derbyshire gritstone. The four statues of the Queen were considered to be too far mutilated for restoration, and better left in their graceful decay.

"Since then the question of protecting and preserving this memorial has been, on more than one occasion, considered by the Court of Quarter Sessions; and it was publicly brought forward in 1888 by Mr. Albert Hartshorne in a letter to the *Times*. The difficulty, however, of proving to whom the cross belonged has, until recently, prevented anything definite from being done." Neither the Crown nor Office of Works claimed ownership. "Negotiations were then opened with the trustees of the Bouverie Estate, on behalf of the Lord of the Manor; and by indenture dated the 29th of March, 1900, the trustees gratuitously conveyed to the County Council all their estate and interest (if any) in this beautiful cross, and also the ground on which it stands, subject to the County Council undertaking to keep the structure in repair."[1]

To guard against wilful dilapidation, the late Sir Henry Dryden recommended, as the most effectual way, to build

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[1] *The Stone Crosses of Northamptonshire*, C. A. Markham, 1901.

a cottage or two within easy sight of the cross, whose inhabitants would be, *ipso facto*, caretakers. It is much to be wished this will be carried out, and that the successive County Councils of Northamptonshire will prove worthy of their precious charge.

ALICE DRYDEN.

STATUES OF QUEEN ELEANOR, NORTHAMPTON.

FOTHERINGHAY.

FOTHERINGHAY AND ITS MEMORIES.

"*Fotheringhay*, castrum amoenissimis pratis circumsitum."—*Camden.*

THE shapeless castle mound, studded with ancient hawthorns, and looking down upon the slow reaches of the Nene, "gliding and sporting," as a seventeenth century description has it, by "the sweet levell of rich meadow grounds lovingly adjoining it," is all that now remains to mark what was the Castle of Fotheringhay, until the seventeenth century linked with it a succession of historic and unfortunate names.

The estate of Fotheringhay, granted by William the Conqueror to his niece Judith, wife of the great Waltheof, was afterwards in the possession of her daughter, who married, first Simon de Senlis, the Norman Earl of Northampton, and, secondly David, the Good King, or "the Saint,"[1] King of Scotland, who thus became seised of "Foderingey" manor, and of the earldom of Huntingdon, by grant from Henry I. The castle of Fotheringhay passed, subsequently, through David, to his son, Henry Earl of Huntingdon; from the Earl to his three sons, in turn—Malcolm the Maiden,[2] "the best Christian that was to the Gael on the east side of the sea for almsgiving fasting and devotion"; William the Lyon[3]; and, lastly, David (afterwards by gift from his brother

1 David, 1084-1153. He was popularly termed "the Saint"—"a sair saint for the Crown," according to James VI., owing to the large extent of his ecclesiastical foundations. In 1113, David, who had passed his youth at the English Court, married the widow of Simon de Senlis, by which marriage he received the honour of Huntingdon, and thus became an English baron.

2 Malcolm IV., the Maiden, 1141-1165.

3 William the Lyon, 1143-1214.

William, Earl of Huntingdon). In the reign of John, this David was required to give up Fotheringhay Castle to the crown, and, upon his refusal, the Sheriff was directed to raise the *Posse Comitatus*, with the townsmen of Northampton, and by force of arms compel its surrender. David, dying in the third year of Henry III., was succeeded in his estate and honours by John Scot, his youngest son. Two years later, William de Fors, or de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle and Holderness, surprised the castle, and, aided by the ice, attacked it on all sides, set fire to the door, and slew two soldiers who resisted him. For this, and for other charges, he was excommunicated by the Pope's legate, the Archbishop of York, and ten bishops of the diocese of Canterbury, and immediately after the sentence he was followed by an army, which, finding Fotheringhay undefended, placed a garrison there. The Earl of Albemarle was finally taken at Fountains Abbey, and brought to the King, on condition that if he should not find the King in a merciful mood, he should be taken back to sanctuary.[1]

Upon the division of the inheritance of John Scot, who left no issue, his sisters and their descendants became his heirs.[2] Afterwards the Sheriff was commanded to take into his possession for the King's use the moiety of Fotheringhay manor which William de Fortibus had held, to whom other lands were granted in exchange; while the other moiety of this lordship, which was in the hands of Devorguilla de Balliol and "held of the King of Scotland by the service of one soar-hawk," passed on her death to her son, John de Balliol, and from him

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1 Anno MCCXXI. Willelmus comes de Albomari meuse Januario, . . . accessit ex improviso ad Fodringham in auxilio glaciei supportatus, undique fecit insultum, et ignem applicuit ad januam. . . . Postmodum vero, communi consilio contra eum indixerunt, et statim eum exercitu ipsum sequentes, castrum de Fodringha vacuum invenerunt, quod in custodiam Falco suscepit."—*Annales Monastici*, Vol. III., Annales de Dunstaplia.

2 (i.) Christian, wife of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle; (ii.) Devorguilla, wife of John de Balliol.

reverted to the Crown; by the Crown it was granted to John de Britain, Earl of Richmond, nephew to Edward I., "to be held during the King's pleasure."

In the fourteenth year of Edward III., the castle and manor were in the hands of John de Britain's granddaughter, Mary de St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke, the "Sad Chatillon" of Gray, who, since the death of her husband, Audemare de Valence, in a joust upon the day of their marriage, had spent the remainder of her life in the exercise of religion.[1] By an inquisition then taken it was certified that the castle was "well built of stone, walled in, embattelled, and encompassed with a good mote." Within the castle walls was another place, called the manor, built on with houses and offices, and the site of the whole contained ten acres.

Successor to the Countess of Pembroke, on the castle and manor of "Foderingeye," was Edmund de Langley, Earl of Cambridge, afterwards created (in 1385) Duke of York. Finding the castle in a ruinous condition, he rebuilt it, and strengthened the fortifications by a keep or high tower, in the form of a horse fetter-lock, which, with a falcon in it, was the device of the family of York. According to Philemon Holland, he garnished the glass windows, also, with fetter-locks, "and when he saw his sons, being younger scholars, gazing upon the painted windows, asked them what was Latin for a fetter-lock. They, studying and looking silently one upon another, not able to answer, 'If you cannot tell me,' says he,[2] 'I will tell you. *Hic, haec, hoc, Taceatis, i.e., Hic, haec, hoc,* Be silent and quiet'; and therewithal added, 'God knoweth what may happen hereafter.'"

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1 She founded the Abbey of Denney, near Ely, and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and died in the fifty-first year of Edward III.

2 "An horse fetter-locke, which both get selfe, and with a Faulcon in it, was his Deuise, Emprese, or Badge; as implying that he was locked up from all great hope, as a younger brother."—*Camden.* Among the badges of Edward III. was a falcon proper; and Edmund of Langley assumed his father's badge.

He, however, "as fayre a person as a man might see anywhere," as is reported, and one who had no care to be "a lord of great worldly riches," seems to have had little of the ambition of his more remarkable brothers, in spite of his dark words about the succession:—

> "When all the lordes to councell and parlyment
> Went, he wolde to hunt, and also to hawekyng."

Personally loyal to his trust as regent of the kingdom, he attempted to make head against Lancaster, but finding little support, he shortly went over to his side, and after the coronation of the new king, retired from Court to his manor of Langley.

His eldest son, Edward of Norwich, second Duke of York (1373?-1415), succeeded him, and was created, in his father's lifetime, Earl of Rutland, Knight of the Garter, and Duke of Albemarle. The King showed great favour to Rutland, "than whom," says Creton, "there was no man in the world whom he loved better." In the next reign, after a brief period of deprivation of his dignities, he rose into favour with King Henry IV., and continued so until his disgrace for his share in the conspiracy of his sister Lady le Despencer, when he was arrested and sent to Pevensey Castle, while his estates were seized into the hands of the King. On his return to power and court favour, he dedicated his "Master of the Game"—a translation of the French of Gaston Phœbus—to the "right worshipful and dredd lorde Henry," Prince of Wales (who had, on one occasion, earnestly vindicated the Duke's loyalty in Parliament), giving as one of the reasons that emboldened him, that though unworthy, he was "Mayster of this Game with ye noble prynes your fadre."[1] This "symple booke," which he submits to the young Prince's "noble and wyse correcoyoun," is a praise of that, "to my thinking to every gentil hart most honeste and moste

[1] In 1397 he was made Warden and Chief Justice of the New Forest and of all forests south of the Trent.

desporteful of all games that is to say, ye huntyng," which he records for fear that the "perfectness" of the art should be forgotten, for "as Chaucyer seythe in his prologue of ye fyftene good Wymmen, by wryting have men mynde of thinges passed, for wryting is ye keye of alle goode remembraunce."

In the service of his dread lord, Edward met his death at Agincourt. His brother Richard, Earl of Cambridge, was concerned in a conspiracy with Lord Scrope and Sir Thomas Grey, which was detected when Henry had assembled his army and navy at Southampton to embark for France. Sentence was passed on him by his peers, and execution followed hard upon it on the same day. At Agincourt, therefore, Edward desired to have the forefront of the battle to make his honour clean. He had his wish, and commanded the right wing. But in the heat and throng of the battle, being "a fatte man," according to Leland, he was "smouldered to death." That he had a lively remembrance of his shortcomings is shown by his will which he made before Harfleur a month or two before his death. In it he calls himself "*de touz pecheurs le plus mechant et couplable*," and he provided that in the masses which shall be said for his soul's salvation, King Richard and King Henry IV. shall be always mentioned, *pour queux je suy tenuz en ma conscience a faire prier, soient compris aussi avant come moy mesmes.*[1]

The chronicler St. Remy narrates the curious fact that the bodies of the Duke of York[2] and of the Earl of Suffolk were boiled, so as to enable the King to carry the bones back to England, where "their exequies were devoutly perform'd by the Archbishops and most of the Bishops in

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1 Nichols' *Royal Wills.*

2 The Duke of York, to raise his own retinue of one baron, four knights, 94 esquires, and 300 horse-archers, while receiving from the King one of his crowns in pledge, had to pawn his personal jewels and church plate; amongst the latter being an "almes dish called the Tygre made in the fashion of a ship standing on a bear garnished diamonds and pearls and weighing 22 lbs. 1½ ounz." It was redeemed only in 9 Henry VI.

St. Paul's church, by the King's order." The Duke of York was honourably buried at Fotheringhay in the body of the choir, "upon whose Tumbe," according to Leland, "lyeth a flat marbil stone with an Image flat yn Brasse."[1]

Richard, Duke of York, son of the attainted Earl of Cambridge, succeeded his uncle in the possession of the Castle of Fotheringhay, where his son, afterwards Richard III., was born. Upon the death of the Duke at Wakefield, he was buried at Pontefract, but his body was removed thence in the reign of his son Edward to the choir of Fotheringhay. His funeral is thus described by Sandford, from a MS. in the College of Arms: On the 2nd of July, 1466, his bones were put into a chariot covered with black velvet "richly wrapped in cloth of gold and royal habit, at whose feet stood a white angel, bearing a crown of gold, to signify that *of right he was king.*" The chariot, with its seven horses with black trappings sweeping the ground, reached by slow stages on the 29th July Fotheringhay church, where the body, with that of the Duke's third son, the Earl of Rutland, was buried with all due pomp and circumstance.

His wife, the Duchess Cecily, who spent the years of her widowhood at Fotheringhay, desired, upon her death, that her body should be "buried beside the body of her most entierly beloved lord and husband fader unto her lorde and son, and in his tumbe" within the Collegiate church of Fodringhay. Afterwards, when in Elizabeth's reign the coffins were opened, the Duchess Cecily "had about her neck a silver ribbon with a pardon from Rome, penned in a very fine Roman hand, as fair and fresh to be read as if it had been written yesterday."

Her son, King Edward IV., "for the love that he bare to Foderingeye," had thought to have privileged it with a market, and on the insurrection of the Northern men

[1] Though Henry IV. was the nominal founder of the College of the B.V.M. and All Saints' in Fotheringhay Church, York provided the endowment, and he is designated as co-founder in the charter granted by Henry, 1411.

in 1469, came from Croyland by water to Foderinghey Castle, where the Queen awaited him. In the twenty-second year of his reign, the Duke of Albany,[1] brother of James III. of Scotland, having made an extraordinary escape from Edinburgh Castle, fled to France; and Edward, taking advantage of James's unpopularity, invited the Duke to England, baiting his invitation with a promise of the Crown of Scotland, on condition of his acknowledging Edward as Lord Paramount of that kingdom; upon this understanding, the covenants were signed between them at the Castle of Fotheringhay.

With the manor, castle, and township of Fotheringhay, Elizabeth, the representative of the Yorkist line, was endowed by Henry VII. "to hold for her life as fully as Richard, Duke of York, her grandfather, had held them," and in the succeeding reign they were settled in dower upon Queen Catherine of Spain, who repaired the castle at a great cost;[2] but when the King would have made it her prison-house, declared that "to Fotheringhay she would not go, unless bound with cart-ropes and carried thither." In the reign of her daughter Mary, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, "le plus beau et plus agréable gentilhomme d'Angleterre," who represented the White Rose—his grandmother was a daughter of Edward IV.—was state prisoner there. For this cause his father had been beheaded, and Courtenay himself, a boy of twelve, confined within the Tower, whence Mary had released him. His birth, his sad story, made him a popular candidate for Mary's hand; but in the easily quelled rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Courtenay's name, with that of the "Lady Elizabeth," had been upon the lips of the rebels. He was imprisoned again in the Tower, and removed thence to Fotheringhay in May, 1554. Upon

1 Quoted in Rymer and Bridges as *Alexander*, the King.

2 "The Castelle of *Foderinghey* is fair and meately strong, with doble Diches and hath a Kepe very auncient and strong. There be very fair Lodgyns in the Castel. And as I herd, *Catarine* of *Spaine* did great Costs in late tyme of refrisching of it."—*Leland's Itinerary.*

Easter of the following year, however, he was released on parole from the castle, and exiled, to die abroad in Padua in his thirtieth year.

The college, being founded and endowed, continued until the 6th year of Edward II. (1552). It was then granted to the all-powerful Duke of Northumberland, by whom the choir of the church was partially pulled down. At the Dissolution, the tombs of the Duke of York and the Duchess Cecily were dug up from the church choir, and lay, as Fuller tells us, in the churchyard, without any monument, shattered, and open to the wind and rain, until Queen Elizabeth, coming thither in one of her royal Progresses, gave order that they should be interred in the church; "wherupon their bodies lapped in lead, were removed from their plain grave, and their coffins opened." Camden also notes the inadequacy of the memorial the Queen raised to them: "Such was their pinching and sparing that had charge of this worke," which was thought "scarce besceming so great Princes descending from Kings, and from whom Kings of England are descended." "Alas," Fuller, in his turn, writes, "more mean are their monuments, made of plaister, workt with a trowel, and no doubt much *daubing theron*, the queen paying for a tomb[1] proportionable to their personages. The best is the memory of this Cecily hath a better and more lasting monument; who was a bountiful benefactress to Queen's College at Cambridge."

The association which has stamped itself most strongly upon Fotheringhay is that with its last State prisoner, Mary Queen of Scots. In the early autumn of 1586, Mary was to be removed from Chartley. Elizabeth was variable as the weather—the Tower was flatly refused; Grafton, Woodstock, Northampton, Coventry, and Huntingdon were suggested in vain. Fotheringhay was at last decided upon, and Mary, under the care of Sir William Fitzwilliam of

[1] Brief inscriptions record that each was "made in the year of our Lord, 1573."

Milton, was closely guarded in the Castle, and not allowed to take her usual exercise on horseback.

Morgan, in writing to the Scottish Queen, reports that Christopher Blount had described her as "the onlye saynt that he knowes living uppon the ground"; but neither James, who offered Queen Elizabeth his congratulations on the discovery of the Babington Conspiracy, nor his subjects, seem to have shared this opinion. The trial[1] was held in the castle before the Judges and Commissioners; and on the seventh day of February the Commissioners for her execution rode into the castle with their warrant. Upon the next day "she was broughte doune into the greate halle of the castell, where was sett upp a schaffolde three foote highe,[2] and xij foote square, all lade and covered with blacke—stoole, pillowe, blocke and all." She had apparelled herself "in borrowed hair, about her neck a pomander chain, and an Agnus Dei hanging at a black ribband, a crucifix in her hand, a pair of beads at her girdle with a golden cross at the end. Her uppermost gown was of black satin, printed, training upon the ground, with long hanging sleeves, trimmed with akorn buttons of gold and pearl, the sleeves over her arms being cut to give sight to a pair of purple velvet underneath; her stockings of worsted, watchet, clocked, and edged at the top with silver, and under them a pair of white."[3] During the reading of the commission, the Queen listened with "so merrie and cheerful a countenance as yf it had been a pardon for her lief."

The Dean of Peterborough, who was present, thus writes of the manner of her death[4]:—

1 A hostel, which stands in the village, now a farmhouse, was certainly built by Edward IV. During the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, the Commissioners and Judges sent down from London were compelled to house themselves in this building and elsewhere in the village.

2 "Two feet high." "A true Declaration of the Execution of Mary, the late Queene of Scots, within the castle of Fotheringhay, 8o Februarii, 1596," from *Harl. MSS.*, 290, f. 196.

3 Gunton's *Peterborough*, p. 73.

4 MSS. of Lord Kenyon, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Fourteenth Report, Appendix, part iv.

"I was appoincted by the Lordes Commissioners to speake to her, they sytting upon a stage; but assone as I begane, shee cried: 'Mr. Deane, trouble me not; I will not heare you; I am resolved in the Romaine Catholique faithe.' . . So the Lordes Commissioners, seeing she refused obstinatelie to praye with us, willed me to go on, soe I prayed for her, and the rest repeated; all which time shee, upon her beades, babled aloude in Latine, to drowne me and the reste.[1] Praier being doone, she kneeled downe, and, having a crucifix a spanne longe between her handes, shee praied often to yt, kissing the foote of yt, . . . and rysing was by the executioner disrobed. 'I was not woonte (quod shee) to have my clothes plucked of by suche groumes,' and so standinge in her peticote, barenecked, shee blessed her owne companie and badd them farewell, kissed her women, and badd them not lament for her, and then verie boldlie and without all feare, shee kneeled downe towards the blocke, and one of her women put a napkine, wroughte all with golde, aboute her face, her piriwigge and white coife remaininge on, then she saide the psalme, *in Te Domine confido*, in Latine, and so laid downe her heade; one of the executioners holdinge her downe, thother strok harde, yet cutte not halfe of it, yet did she move neyther bodie, hande, nor foote, so he stroke againe, . . . being quyte off, hee held yt upp out of the periwigge and clouthes, yt was greaye powlled heade like a boyes heade, newe powlld, save two lockes, at each eare one, and [he] cryed, 'God save the Queene.' . . . The daye being verye fayre did, as yt were, showe favour from Heaven, and commended the justice.[2]

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1 "*Yet, nevertheless, the Dean held his own*, having provided a goodly prayer, with many most charitable requests to Almighty God."—MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, part iii., *Hist. MSS. Comm.*

2 The body of the Queen remained at Fotheringhay for six months after the execution. On the first of August, 1587, it was conveyed to Peterborough Cathedral, and buried there. That was not the original intention of the ministers, as is shown by Walsingham's memorial touching the execution of Mary.

"The body to be buried in the night in the parish church in such *uppermost* place as by the two Earls shall be thought fit" (*i.e.*, the Earls of

The castle of Fotheringhay remained standing and furnished to the last years of the next reign, not being "slighted" and dismantled by King James, but granted to three of his courtiers in turn, Charles Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire; Sir Edward Blount, and Joseph Earth, Esq.; and subsequently to another Mountjoy, created Earl of Newport. Seven days after King James's death, the castle was still the "capital house," containing a great dining-room well garnished with pictures.

Perhaps it was about this period that Fuller, the historian, who was born within ten miles of Fotheringhay, visited the castle, and there saw, in one of the windows, a couplet scratched with a diamond by the Queen of Scots.

> "From the top of all my trust,
> Mishap hath laid me in the dust."

Mountjoy, Earl of Newport, did for the castle what James I. would seem to have never contemplated: he pulled it down, and variously disposed of the materials. The banqueting hall and other portions were taken by Sir Robert Cotton, of Denton, to his new mansion, Conington Castle; other portions were carried to the chapel at Fineshade, and the Talbot Inn at Oundle.

Thus, in 1635, marks of decay were visible in the "Prince-like rooms," according to an anonymous visitant of that year, who "hastned to visite a sickly & dying Castle, not able to hold vp her heade, w^{ch} never left aking ever sithence that heroicke spirited queen left *a king* hers there. In her I found many Large, and goodly Roomes, Chambers, Galleries, Chappell, Kitchens, Buttryes,

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Kent and Shrewsbury). The word "uppermost" is *interlined* in Burghley's hand (MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, part iii., *Hist. MSS. Comm.*).

The Bishop of Lincoln's prayer used at Mary's funeral was a triumph of its kind. "Let us blesse God for the happie dissolution of Marie, late the Scottish Queen, . . . of whose life and departure, whatsoever shall be expected, I have nothing to say, for that I was unacquainted with the one, and not present at the other. Of her Majesty's faith and end I am not to judge; it is a charitable saieng of the father Luther, 'Many a one liveth a Papist and dieth a Protestant.'"

& Cellars, all correspondent, fitt, and answerable for a Prince's Court.

"And for strength, both offensive & defensive, she was nott long since well provided wth Towers, Bulwarkes, and Keeps, for Soldiers to keep in; more especially, one round mounted, large, & strong on the right hand of the Gate-house, purposely built by a famous Duke, for those martiall men to play their Peeces over.

"Her stately Hall I found spacious, large, and answerable to the other Prince-like Roomes, but drooping and desolate for that there was the Altar, where that great queen's head was sacrific'd; as all the rest of those precious sweet Buildings doe sympathise, decay, fall, perish, and goe wracke; for that vnluckie and fatall blow."

Thus the castle lingered on until the eighteenth century, when its last remains were used up for the purpose of repairing the navigation of the Nene. Thus removed, the "shorn and parcelled" castle of Fotheringhay escaped the notice of the antiquary, who would have probably noted its destruction if it had been less gradual.

M. JOURDAIN.

Tower and Moat, Woodcroft.

DRAYTON.

IN a valley some two miles from Thrapston, between the woodlands of Rockingham Forest and the vale of the Nene, lies Drayton House, in many ways the most remarkable and the most fascinating of the great houses of Northamptonshire. Although no part of the present building can certainly be dated before Edward I., there has been on this site a great residence since the days of Saxon England. Henry, Earl of Peterborough, one of the most distinguished of its owners, thus affectionately writes of it in his famous family history known as *Halstead's Genealogies:*—

"The Manor of Drayton being one of the fairest and most Noble of the County wherein it lies, both for its Commodities, Situation, and the Royalties belonging thereunto was in the days of those Kings that did precede the Conquest among the possessions of one Oswinus, a famous Saxon. But upon the distribution of the lands acquired by King William it became part of the estate of Aubrey de Vere, who first entered England with that prince. From this Earl Aubrey the Elder (for so he is termed) the Lordship of Drayton did descend to Earl Aubrey the Second, who was father to the first Earl of Oxford, Great Chamberlain to King Henry the First, and Lord Chief Justice of England, and from him it was given in partage to Robert, his second son. This Mansion and Lordship consisted at that time of a fair ancient Castle encompassed with four large high walls, embattled round all with such fortifications as were necessary both for resistance and offence. It had (as parcels thereof) very useful Demesnes of Park, of Warren, and flourishing Woods, besides the villages of Luffwick, Islip, Slipton, and certain land in the parishes of Aldwinckle and Titchmarsh, in each of which the Lords had Courts of their own, the advowson of the three Churches belonging thereunto with free Warren upon all these lands, and free Fishing for a long tract upon the River of Avon.

"To this Robert de Vere, Lord of Drayton, did succeed Sir Henry de Vere, who left his inheritance to Sir Walter de Vere, his son, who

from the excellence of the place and his great love thereunto did assume the name thereof.

"And his posterity ever after, a thing in those days very usual."

What Drayton was in those days it substantially remains to-day, and it is doubtful if there is another estate in the county remaining in extent and characteristics identical for eight centuries and during all that time, with one doubtful exception, never bought or sold.

The story of its owners is one of great interest. No English family exceeds the de Veres in renown or dignity of descent, and the Drayton branch was worthy of its race. One was a Crusader under Richard I.; one assisted Simon de Montfort in the struggle of the barons against Henry III.; another, Sir Simon, represented the County in a succession of Parliaments in Edward III.'s reign, and received from Edward III. a licence to crenellate, and his battlemented wall still stands as the south-east front of the house. His son conveyed Drayton to Sir Henry Greene, the Lord Chief Justice in 1335. The Greenes, whose origin, though distinguished, is in detail a matter of some dispute, were people of much importance during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One, a *dramatis persona* in Shakespeare's play of "King Richard II.," held Bristol for that most unlucky of kings, and paid the penalty with his life. But the family had had friendly relations with the House of Lancaster, and the forfeited estates were restored to his son, who was high in favour, and who was five times Sheriff and twice Member of Parliament for the county. His brother, who succeeded him, fought at Agincourt, and his son Henry is the first of the great builders at Drayton, whose work still stands to some extent. He, like his uncle, was member for the county, and it is curious that no owner of Drayton after was Knight of the Shire till Colonel Stopford Sackville, the present possessor. To this Henry, also, should be credited the most beautiful features of Lowick Church, just beyond the park, where he, with the rest of his race,

Entrance Front, Drayton.

lies buried. He, like his predecessors, followed the Red Rose, but the marriage of his only daughter and heiress, Constance, to the second son of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, carried Drayton into the White Rose Camp, and the new owner was created Earl of Wiltshire by his cousin, King Edward IV., in 1470. To this curious change of sides may be attributed the fact that Drayton came uninjured out of that terrible century. By this time the house must have comprised the bulk of the present building, apart from the North Wing, and the room can still be identified wherein the second and last Earl of Wiltshire of this creation died in 1499, worn out with the fatigues of suppressing the Cornish insurrection against King Henry VII. He must have been a man of political adroitness, for he carried the Queen's crown at the coronation of Richard III., and yet had high military command under the House of Tudor.

The story of his death-bed is one of the most interesting passages in "Halstead," as the disputes which arose about his will led to the deposition of the various witnesses being carefully taken down and preserved.

"Thomas Cade, Clerk, Parson of Buckworth in the Diocese of Lincoln, of th' age of forty-eight yeres and more, sworne and examyned the first day of the Month of Marche, in the fifth yere of the Reigne of King Henry the Eight, upon the Testament and last Wyll of Edward, late Erle of Wiltes, seith and deposeth that he knew well and perfectly the seid Erle, insomoche this Deponent was his household Chaplayne by the space of seven yeres and more. And as concernying the makyng of the Testament and last Wyll of the seid Erle, this Deponent seith that he can nothing depose of the contents thereof, but affirmeth the twenty-fourth day of Marche then being Palm Sunday, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight, this Deponent was present at the Manoir of Drayton the day and yere above said in a high Chamber, in whyche Chamber the seid Erle lay sick, and there in the presence of this Deponent the said Testament and last Wyll was engrossed in Parchment by one Philip Foster, and presented and delyvered unto the handes of the seid Erle, and then and there in presence of this Deponent the seid Testament and last Wyll was soe sealed with his accustomed square Signet, graved with a ramping Bere upon a Bere-werdes Staffe, then being present at the sealing of the seid Testament

and last Wyll, John Mordaunt, Serjeaunt at the Law, Robert Wittelbury, William Marbury, Philip Foster, James Walbef, Master William Felde, then Master of the College of Foderinghay, this Deponent and others more, whose names he perfectly remembreth not. * * * This done as above is written, the said Erle prayed and required this Deponent that he would housell him, and thereunto this Deponent answered and seid these words following: 'My Lord, I have made everything in full redyness to goe to Masse, if ye be so pleased, and at the same Masse to consecrate an hoste, and when Masse is done to housell you.' 'Nay,' seid the same Erle, 'I pray you let me not tarry so long.' And thereupon this Deponent went downe into the Chapell, and brought the Sacrament up to the seid Erle's lodging Chamber, and set it upon the cupborde there redy prepared for the same, and came to the same Erle lyeing in his bed, and seid to him these words following: 'My Lord, I have brought to you your Maker and Redeemer, as ye have desired me to doe, and forasmoche as every Priest that shall take upon him to minister the same Sacrament to eny Chris*tan* man ought to examine the faith of soche person as it shall be ministered unto, I doe require of you that I may know what faith is in you, and how ye believe.' Whereunto the seid Erle answered and seid: 'I believe in Almighty God, Creatour and Maker of Hevyn and Erthe, and in Jesus Christe his onely begoten Son'; and so in effect he answered fourthe to all the twelve Articles of the Faith, with many other good and contryte wordes; and seid these wordes following to this Deponent and to all other then being present there: 'I pray you witnesse with me' (and looked on side to th' oder folkes being in the Chamber) 'and all you.' And after these wordes the seid Erle with contrite herte made a general knowledge to God, seying, '*Confiteor Deo, beatæ Mariæ*,' etc. Then this Deponent, by suche authorite as to him was geven, unto the seid Erle granted and gave absolution, and that done the seid Erle received the Sacrament by the handes of this Deponent with great reverence and meeknesse of heart. * * * And after that the said Erle commaunded this Deponent to goe to Masse in the seid Erle's chamber where at that tyme the seid Erle lay. * * * And after the Masse ended there went a chaplaine of the seid Erle's to high Masse in the Chapell whose name was Sir John Bukmaster, and at the passion tyme of the seid high Masse so seid in the seid Chapell by the seid Sir John Bukmaster there came to the seid Deponent one of the seid Erle's servants, called Robert Wilkinson, and seid to this Deponent these words following: 'Fader, for the reverence of God come to my Lord, for he in the paines of dethe.' And thereupon this Deponent departed oute of the seid Chapell into the seid Erle's chamber, and found there no creature but himself onely. And this Deponent lighted a sise of wax that was hallowed, and seid these words following: 'In manus tuas, Domine,' etc. And in that same moment the seid Erle departed to God oute of this present lyfe. And thus this Deponent left the dead body of the seid Erle whose Soule God absolve. And more he knoweth not."

By this nobleman's death, without issue, Drayton went to his second cousin, who represented another branch of the de Veres, and by her marriage with John Lord Mordaunt Drayton came into the possession of the great family that have left their mark more, perhaps, than any other on this historic house. The Mordaunts were people of great influence, though not absolutely in the front rank of statesmen, in the reigns of the early Tudors. They were staunch for the "old religion," and the first Lord had great difficulty in resisting the proposal of Henry VIII., that he should exchange Drayton for certain abbey lands, with a view, of course, of committing him to the support of the King's confiscations. The second Lord was a Privy Councillor under Queen Mary, and retired to Drayton, where he died in 1572. His successor, Lewis, the third Lord Mordaunt, was the most important individual builder at Drayton. To him is owing the North wing, a very characteristic specimen of early Renaissance work, and the garden upon which it looks, though greatly altered and developed by the second Lord Peterborough and Sir John Germain, was probably originally laid out by Lord Mordaunt. There still remains on the balustrade, between this garden and the lower one to the south, a quaint and beautiful sun-dial, bearing the Mordaunt arms impaling Darcy. He, like his father, was opposed to the Reformation movement, and lived quietly at Drayton, building and developing its beauties, or, as "Halstead" puts it, "a lover of art and an encourager of learning, and also a builder and adornment to the noble old castle of Drayton, the beloved seat of his grandmother." It was doubtless his friendship with Leicester and Sir Christopher Hatton which saved him from troubles, but he must bitterly have disliked being forced to act as one of the judges on Mary Queen of Scots in the great trial at Fotheringhay, "with whose sentence he did most reluctantly consent." He had also been obliged to take the same position in the trial of the Duke of Norfolk. His long and prosperous

life was a great contrast to that of his son, who succeeded him in 1601. Like his father, Henry Lord Mordaunt "inclined to the old religion," but he was thoroughly loyal and entertained King James I., with his Queen, at Drayton for three days, from Saturday to Tuesday, soon after his accession. It is this visit which gives the name of the "King's Dining Room" to a large chamber entered from the Great Staircase. The Churchwardens' Accounts of Lowick for the year 1605 read quaintly as to this visit:—

"Layde out in breade and drinke for the ringgers when the Kinge came to Draighton . . . . . 2/2d.
"Layde out at on General Communion being when the Kinge was at Drayghton for v pints of wine and on penne lofe . . . . . 2/7d.

The gunpowder plot in the next year was the ruin of Lord Mordaunt. On no better evidence than his friendship for Sir Everard Digby, and his absence from that Parliament, he was thrown into the Tower, and his long imprisonment ended in his death in 1608. Now, again, like the similar instance in the owners of Drayton two hundred years before, the son recovered the Royal favour that the father had lost, and it is curious to think what would have happened to English history if John, fifth Lord Mordaunt, had retained the favour of James I., in which he was supplanted by the Duke of Buckingham. As a matter of fact, he was favourite in the short period between the fall of Carr, Lord Somerset, and the rise of Buckingham. The exact reason why his success was so short is now unknown. We have to be contented with the quaint comment of "Halstead":—

"But in fine he was not born for the advancement of his house, and a humor he had which was averse to Constraint, and indulgent to all his own Passions, gave way afterwards to another's entrance into Favour who was designed for all the greatness England could give."

He never, however, fell out of favour to the extent that his father had done, and he had a stirring life still to lead. His wife was Elizabeth Howard, a grand-daughter

of that Lord Howard of Effingham who commanded the English fleet against the Armada; and when her husband was created Earl of Peterborough by Charles I., and made Lord Lieutenant of the County, it was his wife's influence that detached him from Court and led him to join the Parliamentary leaders, first with his counsel, and afterwards, when the war broke out, with his men and arms. The story runs that he had been converted from Roman Catholicism by Archbishop Usher in a conversation held at Drayton. This Earl, the first Protestant of his line, was a vigorous opponent of the King till his death in 1642.

Far more important in relation to the history of Drayton is the life of his son, the second Earl. He had been with his father among the Parliamentary forces, but early in the war transferred himself to the side of the King, and during his long life was an unswerving supporter of the Stuarts. Few men stood higher in the second rank of statesmen and courtiers. He took part in the rising of 1648, sometimes called the Second Civil War, and on its collapse, escaped, for the second time, to the continent, while his colleague, Henry, Earl of Holland, whose portrait hangs in the Dining Room at Drayton, was captured and executed. At the Restoration he found various forms of employment. For some years he was Captain General of Tangier; and as the reign proceeded, he attached himself more and more to James, Duke of York. Court favour was, doubtless, of value to him, for he had twice compounded for his estates with Parliament, and had been obliged to sell some outlying parts of the Northamptonshire estates. James, Duke of York, to do him justice, recognized Lord Peterborough's services. He appointed him to act as his proxy in his second marriage with Mary of Modena, and Lord Peterborough, alone of King Charles' courtiers, was left in the bedroom when Father Huddleston was brought in to administer the Sacrament to the dying King according to the Roman form. He was made a

Knight of the Garter soon after James' accession, and throughout the reign was high in favour, all the higher in that he had conformed to the Church of Rome himself in 1676, and on the flight of James II. he was impeached by William the Third's First Parliament. This, however, was dropped, and he retired to Drayton, where he died in 1697. It is doubtful whether even the neighbourhood of Drayton was quite in accord with the old Earl's politics. There is a News Letter quoted in the *Hist. MSS. Com.*, which, under the date of December 30th, 1688, runs:—

"Letters from Northampton say that some days since the mob spoiled the Earl of Peterborough's chapel and furniture. After which they searched every corn-mow and hayrick for arms, but could find none. At which being enraged they took the Steward and tied him to a stake and piled faggots and other combustible matter about him, to burn him if he would not confess where the arms were hid. But he continued obstinate a long time till the fire was put to the fuel about him, on which he scirmishing out declared they were thrown into the fish-pond, the which at their coming away the pond was drawn and arms found as if for 200 men, also there were 200 barrels of gunpowder and several sorts of fireworks. Others were going to search the other ponds."

But Lord Peterborough was a man of many resources. He had found time, in spite of his courtly avocations, to write the learned and famous family history already referred to as "Halstead." This renowned book professes to be the work of one Robert Halstead, and is dedicated with all the solemnity of the period to Lord Peterborough himself. But it was actually written by the Earl and his domestic chaplain, and with its setting out in full of the old family deeds and genealogies it affords a mine of information to the historical student. Lord Peterborough's account of himself, which is given at great length, is full of interesting detail. It is in this book that occurs the famous reference to Lord Halifax and the defeat of the Exclusion Bill in the House of Lords practically by his eloquence alone. Nor was this all that Lord Peterborough achieved. Drayton, as we see it now, shows almost as much of his work as of his great grandfather's. The

great outer court, of which the stable forms one side, is undoubtedly his, and he developed the formal garden, building the two Banqueting Houses, which are so marked and charming a feature. The line of portraits of the Mordaunts in the King's Dining Room date from his day. He remains a singularly interesting figure in that stormy time. Full of antiquarian lore, of exquisite taste, and of unswerving loyalty, he was more of a student and an artist than a man of action, and through his quaint history of his own life shows himself as sighing for the woods and fields of Drayton, even when most successful at Whitehall.

On his death, the Earldom went to his nephew, Charles, the great Earl of Peterborough, who remains the most puzzling and most sparkling of all the figures who surrounded Queen Anne. He, the hero of Barcelona, was not destined to own Drayton. William III. had, in his uncle's lifetime, given him the Lord Lieutenancy of Northampton, but the old Earl had left his possessions to his daughter, and an interminable law-suit that the new Earl started only finished when Sir John Germain left Drayton to his second wife, whom the chivalric Earl said he would never disturb. The daughter in question, Lady Mary Mordaunt, married first the Duke of Norfolk, whose arms still show on part of the quadrangle at Drayton, and who, curiously enough, was installed Knight of the Garter by James II. on the same day as his father-in-law. After he had obtained a divorce, Lady Mordaunt (so called because she had inherited the Barony in fee at the death of her father) married Sir John Germain—a brilliant, but profligate, adventurer, who had come over from Holland with William III., who was supposed to be his natural brother, and who was deep in his confidence. Now, after a long period of ownership by supporters of the Stuarts, Drayton passes into Whig hands. Lady Mordaunt left Drayton to Sir John, and when, after her death, he married Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, the famous Lady Betty

Germain, it was to her, his second wife, that he bequeathed Drayton. For fifty years Lady Betty survived him, reigning at Drayton as a great lady, deeply interested in politics and fashion, and still more in art of all kinds. Her political opinions are shown by her subscribing for the support of John Wilkes, while the width of her interests was marked by the number of her correspondents, which included Pope and Swift. And no one, save Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, outvied Lady Betty in the zeal for collecting curios and china, especially the oriental cabinets which then first found their way into England in considerable numbers from the China seas. Horace Walpole's description of his visit to Drayton, written to Montague in 1763, though often quoted, is inseparable from any description of the house in those days.

"Well, we hurried away and got to Drayton an hour before dinner. Oh! the dear old place, you would be transported with it! . . . The front is a brave, strong castle wall, embattled and loopholed for defence. Passing through the great gate, you come to a sumptuous but narrow modern court, behind which rises the old mansion, all towers and turrets. The house is excellent, has a vast hall, ditto dining room, king's chamber, trunk gallery at the top of the house, handsome chapel, and seven or eight distinct apartments, besides closets and conveniences without end. Then it is covered with portraits, crammed with old china, furnished richly, and not a rag in it under forty, fifty, or a thousand years old, and not a bed or a chair that has lost a tooth, or got a grey hair, so well are they preserved. I rummaged it from head to foot, examined every spangled bed and enamelled pair of bellows, for such there are; in short, I do not believe the old mansion was ever better pleased with an inhabitant since the days of Walter de Drayton, except when it has received its divine old mistress. . . . The garden is just as Sir John Germaine brought it from Holland: pyramidal yews, treillages, and square cradle walks with windows clipped in them.

Horace Walpole rummaged at Drayton to some purpose, as in another letter he says: "I have given Lady Betty Germain a very fine portrait that I discovered at Drayton in the woodhouse." According to tradition this is a painting of Lady Warwick (Rich.) by Antonio More, which hangs in the drawing-room.

Drayton.

Lady Betty, on her death in 1769, left Drayton by will to the famous Lord George Sackville. This was in accordance with the wish of Sir John Germain. The unusual bequest of so fine a mansion to a distant relative —for Lady Betty had nieces of her own—is alluded to in the journal of Lady Mary Coke:—

"I am grieved to think Lady Betty Germaine suffered so much in dying, but it is now over, and I don't doubt she is rewarded for her many virtues. I cannot say her will is exactly what I wished or expected, but I cannot make any reflection on the memory of so excellent a woman."

This, from the pen of Lady Mary, who had little good to say of anyone, is high testimony to the famous mistress of Drayton.

The house to which Lord George Sackville came is practically identical with the house of to-day. Sir John Germain had built the cloisters in the quadrangle as we now see them, and had substituted the sash windows of his day for the venerable mullions. To his first wife, Lady Mordaunt, is owing the exquisite ironwork for which the gardens are widely celebrated, and Lady Betty had been responsible for much of the treasures of art that the house still contains. Lord George, who took the name of Germain, on receiving this property, had the drawing and dining-room re-decorated in the style of the day, and his is the last distinctive influence on the house. Lord George was a man of great ability and distinction. The second son of a great Whig Duke, he had passed in the many changes of the earlier years of George III. to the Tory side, and was Secretary of State under Lord North. He died a Pittite, and from his acquisition of Drayton the house has been, with Burghley and Fawsley, one of the social and political centres of Northamptonshire Conservatism. In the quiet of Drayton the misfortunes of his middle life were, let us hope, forgotten, and the honours of his later days enjoyed, when his courage, improperly assailed at Minden, was vindicated, and his political talents recognized by the younger Pitt, who knew probably as well

as we do that the loss of the United States was not so much due to Lord George, though Secretary of State, as to Lord North's want of decision and the obstinacy of the King. It is amusing to think of the old statesman, who had now been created Viscount Sackville of Drayton, devoting his talents to the moral improvement of the neighbourhood, and Cumberland's account of his behaviour in church is much too good to leave out:—

"To his religious duties this good man was not only regularly, but respectfully attentive; on the Sunday morning he appeared in gala, as if he was dressed for a drawing room; he marched out his whole family in grand cavalcade to his parish church, leaving only a sentinel to watch the fires at home, and mount guard upon the spits. His deportment in the house of prayer was exemplary, and more in character of times past than of time present: he had a way of standing up in sermon time for the purpose of reviewing the congregation, and awing the idlers into decorum, that never failed to remind me of Sir Roger de Coverley at church. Sometimes when he has been struck with passages in the discourse, which he wished to point out to the audience as rules for moral practice worthy to be noticed, he would mark his approbation of them with such cheering nods and signals of assent to the preacher, as were often more than my muscles could withstand; but when to the total overthrow of all gravity, in his zeal to encourage the efforts of a very young declaimer in the pulpit, I heard him cry out to the Reverend Mr. Henry Etough in the middle of his sermon, 'Well done, Harry!' it was irresistible; suppression was out of my power. What made it more intolerably comic was the unmoved sincerity of his manner, and his surprise to find that anything had passed that could provoke a laugh so out of time and place. He had nursed up with no small care and cost in each of his parish Churches a corps of rustic psalm singers, to whose performances he paid the greatest attention, rising up and with his eyes directed to the singing gallery marking time, which was not always rigidly adhered to, and once, when his ear, which was very correct, had been tortured by a tone most glaringly discordant, he set his mark upon the culprit by calling out to him by name, and loudly saying, 'Out of tune, Tom Baker!' Now, this faulty musician, Tom Baker, happened to be his lordship's butcher."

To Lord George's son, the second Viscount Sackville, who succeeded in 1785, and who was a great friend of the Prince Regent, came later in life from his cousin, the Dukedom of Dorset; but this, the last Duke of Dorset,

was oftener in London and at Newmarket than at Drayton. The chief local memory of him is of the extraordinary punctuality with which he rode from town to Northamptonshire; so much so, that his brother, Mr. Germain, who lived at Drayton, and managed the estate, would take out his watch, and say, "I will go and meet my brother; I am sure to find him at such and such a milestone," which he sure enough always did. This Mr. Germain died before his brother, and on the Duke's death in 1843 Drayton descended to his niece, who married Mr. Stopford, and took the name of Sackville, and who, in honoured age, still lives at Drayton. Her son, Colonel Stopford Sackville, M.P. for North Northamptonshire, completes the long list of the owners of Drayton.

These jottings on the history of Drayton show how peculiar the fortune of the house has been. It has had possessors whose wealth and taste enabled them to make it the stately and beautiful home that we now see. But through the long course of its history it has escaped both destruction and the scarcely less fearful fate of absolute renovation. So many of the great houses show now-a-days merely the design of some one great owner and record the fashion of one epoch rather than the traditions of many. But Drayton, never the home of quite the greatest people in the state, and certainly never possessed by those who allowed it to decay, preserves to the present time records of extreme artistic interest connected with most of its noble owners. The approach to the house itself is remarkable. On the road from Thrapston to Kettering one passes a plain gate on the right-hand side. There is no lodge, nor are there any lodges on the estate—a sure sign that the estate is older than the days of the Tudors. Driving through this gate, in less than a mile one sees from rising ground the famous old house below, and in front of one a broad avenue, that shows the marks of time, leads from the main or south-east front up the hill to where some iron gates of exquisite

workmanship mark the boundary of the park. As one approaches the house one enters the large outer Court, which owes its present form to Henry, Earl of Peterborough. Its north side is the old embattled wall of the Draytons, broken by an archway, surmounted by Lord Peterborough's arms, which leads to the house proper. On the west side are a range of attractive buildings, which form the face of the stables. The other sides of the Court are old walls of moderate height, with great wealth of ironwork on the entrance side. And here it may be noted that Lord Peterborough's adroit treatment of the stables is almost peculiar to Drayton. The old English style, in which the baron or squire looked out of his bedroom window on to his stable yard, and which is perpetuated in Fawsley almost alone of the great Northamptonshire houses, has not here given way to the customary fashion of separate stables apart from the house. That method, which is seen at Althorp and Castle Ashby, at Wakefield and Burghley, is French in origin; and had Drayton stables been re-arranged by Sir John Germain, the fashion would probably have been followed. But Lord Peterborough, by building a new front on to the old stables, and so making them an ornamental side of the great entrance court, has combined the old convenience of immediate proximity with a fine architectural effect. On passing from the archway in the old Edwardian wall one enters the Quadrangle. On the right is the chapel fitted up by Lady Betty Germain, and the room in which the Earl of Wiltshire died was near this, in the south-east corner of the building. At each end of the Quadrangle, on the east and west sides, are a row of cloisters, built by Sir John Germain, which are the least interesting of Drayton's architectural features. Opposite to the archway, on the north side, are a flight of steps leading to the main entrance. On the right, as we enter, is the hall, and on the left the dining-room, both with large sash windows, of Sir John's period, looking

into the Quadrangle. In the dining room are decorations, due to Lord George Sackville, and the workmen he brought from Italy have given an admirable specimen of a great dining-room of the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Here hang two important pictures—one of Lord Holland by Mytens, and one of Louis XIV. by Kneller. It is not unlikely that this, a full length, depicting *Le Roi Soleil* in early middle life, is the picture which Kneller was commissioned by Charles II. to paint just before that King's death. It has been here since Henry, Lord Peterborough's time, and may well have been purchased by him from the artist. The pictures in the hall are numerous and of great interest. Those of Prince Eugene and William III., the latter a replica of Kneller's famous picture at Hampton Court, represent Sir John Germain's reign here; and opposite to the King at the west end is a fine Lely of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, the father of Lady Mordaunt's first husband. Over the fireplace are portraits of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. after Holbein, and these are of greater interest since the originals were destroyed in the Whitehall fire. Here, too, is an admirable copy of a Charles I. by Van Dyck.

Passing across the Hall from the main entrance one comes to two rooms opening right and left. That on the left, Mrs. Sackville's room, has also interesting pictures. Among them is one of Lord Howard of Effingham, not as he was when he defeated the Armada, but in old age; and one of Father Huddleston, the famous, though illiterate, priest who helped Charles II. in his escape from Worcester, and was brought up the back stairs to his death-bed by the Duke of York to give him the last rite of the Church. Other portraits there are of members of the Sackville family, including a preliminary drawing by Sir Joshua Reynolds for his painting of Lord George Sackville. The completed picture hangs in the opposite room, Mr. Sackville's, and it is interesting to compare this portrait of the statesman in early middle age with the portrait

of him, by Romney, in his later days, that hangs in the drawing-room. The growth of character and interest in the face by the chequered experiences of a lifetime is remarkable when the two paintings are compared. Lord George had the good fortune to be painted, not only by Sir Joshua and Romney, but by Gainsborough as well; but the Gainsborough is not in Drayton—it is at Knole.

Returning to the Hall, and passing through it to its south-east corner, two or three steps lead into the crypt—a low and wide room supported by pillars and pointed arches. This dates back to the days of Edward I., and the variations of level in the different parts of the house make it impossible to discover its original use. The floor was formerly much higher, and the room little more than two passages, till twenty years ago, when the pillars were relieved of their whitewash, and the original proportions of the room restored. This is the oldest part of Drayton. At its north end a flight of steps leads to a staircase, which opens from the hall, and turning to the right we soon reach the garden entrance between the north wing and the main body of the house. Here begins the Great Staircase, which is a large and beautiful spiral, the continuous curve of the banisters broken by small level pieces, which do not correspond to any landings. This leads on the first floor to the room already referred to as the King's Dining-room. Here hang pictures of the Mordaunts, most of them probably painted in the time of Henry, Earl of Peterborough, a portrait of himself by Dobson being one of the most conspicuous. Here is also a portrait of Lady Betty Germain, but a finer one by Kneller hangs on the west staircase near the dining-room with a portrait by D'Agur, the Huguenot painter, of her sister, Lady Mary Chamber. Most of the Drayton furniture is not older than the eighteenth century, but the chairs in this room, very stately in proportion, date back to Lord Peterborough.

The door at the south-east of the dining-room leads

to a smaller room containing two special treasures of Drayton—a painting by Van Dyck of the Duchess of Richmond, and some fire-dogs, with fronts of rare English enamel, which are unique. From the King's Dining-room the staircase winds upward till it ends at the door of the library or gallery, a long, narrow room running the whole length of the north wing, with another staircase at the north-west corner leading down to the garden. It is a family tradition at Drayton that Sir Walter Scott took some hints for his description of Woodstock from this isolated and half secret staircase at Drayton. Equally curious is the powder closet jutting out of the long library, half-way down its length, and remaining to-day with its old-fashioned mirrors as it was when the boudoir of the Duchess of Norfolk.

Returning down the Great Staircase we reach the entrance to the Drawing-room, on the ground floor of the north wing, while beyond this are two rooms, known as the State Bedroom (here is "the spangled bed") and Dressing-room, which retain the splendour of Lady Betty's days. In these three rooms are found much of the treasures of furniture and decoration for which Drayton was so famous. Cabinets from China and Japan, miniatures—among which one notices a specially fine one of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough—medals, and gold boxes wherein Lord George received the freedom of Irish cities, a silver and ebony table, and two exquisite silver-gilt cups of the Commonwealth period, bearing Lord Peterborough's arms, are among the many objects to fascinate the eye and attract the attention. Among the pictures here are portraits of Strafford and Falkland, close together, and vividly portraying the contrast between iron will and pensive reflection, and one of the great Earl of Peterborough, which shows him in early life with all the fire and flightiness which marked his romantic career. It is noteworthy as the only one in existence which does not represent him in his old age. Here, too, is most noticeable

that which one sees everywhere in Drayton—its old china. Of great interest are some dishes in pale blue and white pottery, said to be the sole examples of a Dublin factory which existed only for a year or two during the Lord Lieutenancy of the Duke of Dorset, Lord George's father. More beautiful, and of even greater value, are the oriental pieces which Lady Betty Germain was so fond of collecting, and which stand here unspoiled and uninjured, as though Time itself had stood still for a century and a half. But the treasures of Drayton are innumerable, and what little space is left in this notice must be given to the gardens.

The Formal Garden, to the east of the house, upon which looks the north wing of Lord Mordaunt and the older part of the house, modified and altered by him to harmonize therewith, is perhaps the most interesting part of the grounds. Laid out in the reign of Elizabeth, altered and developed by Lord Peterborough, made still more Dutch and formal by Sir John Germain, and restored to its then appearance some fifty years ago by Mr. Stopford, it is now charming at all times by its form and proportions, as well as by its wealth of flowers and colour in summer.

The gardens generally are on three levels, of which this is the middle. Above it, on the highest level, are the long Lime Avenue and the old pleached alleys surrounding the fruit gardens, which go back to the time of Queen Elizabeth. Below it are two other gardens—one with the great square fishpond, in which Lord Peterborough's steward hid the fire-arms. The steps from each garden to the other are arranged in concentric curves of old stone, and add greatly to the effect. Opposite this garden front of the house on the other side of the Formal Garden stand Lord Peterborough's two Banqueting Houses, now covered with creepers; and beyond them again a further terrace, on each side of which two avenues provide a vista through which one sees the lantern tower of Lowick church.

The gardens proper are on the east side of the house,

but they also pass round to the north, where is the lime avenue before-mentioned, and a great sweep of lawns, and extend to where, at the north-west corner of the house, remains a little stretch of the ancient moat. A turret at this corner, in imitation of that which marks the beginning of the north wing on the eastern side, was probably built by Sir John Germain. The contrast is interesting between the workmanship of Queen Anne's time and the better building of Lord Mordaunt's north wing, where the chimneys are almost certainly the work of the famous John Thorpe.

The last features of Drayton to be touched on are the walls of the garden. Beautiful with age, and built with a solidity and finish that is now a lost art, they surround the ancient gardens to an extent but rarely rivalled, and everywhere the gates between show the wonderful iron-work so characteristic of Drayton, and which is the chief memorial of Mary, Lady Mordaunt and Duchess of Norfolk. The avenues, too, though showing signs of age, have great beauty, and it is curious to notice the avenue of lime, probably planted by Lord Peterborough, and one of elm, attributed to Sir John Germain, when one recollects the old tradition that lime avenues were planted by the Tories and elms by the Whigs in the days of Dutch William.

Such is Drayton—a place easy to talk about, but impossible to describe, for the splendid styles of building have been harmonized, partly by time and partly by taste, into a fabric less immediately impressive, perhaps, than some great houses, but far more subtle in charm. And this charm of Drayton, which applies to its gardens and its avenues, to its interior, as well as to its outward aspect, is a charm due chiefly to the care and reverence with which the traditions of the house have always been maintained. Large as it is, it has an indefinable feeling of being dwelt in and loved which some great houses conspicuously lack. And yet there is nothing in the modern refinements

or customs here which is out of keeping with the spirit of fair antiquity which broods over it all. Its possessors have at different times played many and varying parts in the drama of English history. Whatever side they took, or whatever cause they followed, they always brought to it not a little of that distinction which so marks their ancient home. This is true to the present time.

> "Ah! better far than feudal sway,
> Better than rank and power,
> Is that large life of older day
> Prolonged to modern hour."

No one can ever maintain that the past and the present cannot be woven into complete unity who knows Drayton and those who dwell therein.

W. RYLAND D. ADKINS.

TWO EDWARDIAN HOUSES, WOODCROFT AND NORTHBOROUGH.

AT the Peterborough end of the county stand two rare examples of domestic buildings of the Edwardian era. The largest of the two and more uncommon is Woodcroft Castle or Manor-house. Standing in a lonely spot in the parish of Etton, it is secluded even from the quiet high road which is here no more than a cart track, and half hidden by its sombre yews, of which—

> "No branding summer suns avail
> To touch the thousand years of gloom."

Although called a castle, it seems to have had no pretensions to the character of a stronghold. It was once entirely surrounded by its moat (one side of which has now been filled up for greater convenience), enclosing a square, of which the house occupies one side and part of another; the quadrangle was most likely completed by stables and offices of wood and plaster. The entrance front was flanked at each end by an attached circular tower, one of which now is gone; but the other still remains at the angle where the two wings of the house meet, and is still washed by the moat, round which and the thick grim tower centres the tragic episode of its history. Its basement, lighted by small square-headed windows, was probably used as a prison, as it has no original communication with the rest of the house. It is finished with a plain parapet, for no part of the building seems to have been embattled, nor is there any provision for a portcullis.

The tower is three stories in height, as is the part of the house over the gateway, which thus forms a sort of secondary tower. The rest of the house is but two stories, of which the upper story south of the gateway has been lowered, thus cutting the windows in half, and this is the chief alteration that has taken place to the outside of the building. The inside has been completely modernised, and practically nothing now is left by which to ascertain the original internal arrangements.

Bridges, describing it early in the eighteenth century, states that "The doors and long passages through the gateway, with two large arches and seats of stone, and stone windows and staircases within the house, and a round bastion towards the north end, are of remarkable and ancient workmanship. Over the porch or gateway is a chamber, formerly the chapel; in the wall is a basin for holy water, a long stone seat, and a large window, now in part filled up and made smaller."

The windows on the upper story are alike, of one light with a transom, the heads both of them and those of the tower having the form which has been called a "square-headed trefoil" or shouldered arch. The large east window of the chapel was of three lights, with the same peculiar heads. The head of the window is still perfect, over a modern floor dividing the height of the Sacrarium into two stories. The Sacrarium formerly occupied the whole width, about one-third of the length, and the whole height from the floor over the entrance archway to the top of the tower. The western part of the chapel was originally, as now, divided by a floor into two stories; the upper one forming a sort of gallery or priest's room with a single light window at the west end, which was reached from the Sacrarium by a stone staircase carried up in the adjoining room.

Woodcroft was considered by the late Mr. J. H. Parker to belong to the latter part of the thirteenth century or early fourteenth century, "and in its appearance is very

unlike any house in existence in this country of the same period." He considered it probable that it was built by one of the Wodecrofts or Lawrence Preston that held property in Woodcroft under the Abbey of Peterborough at the time that John de Caleto, a native of Caux, in Normandy, came to be Abbot, 1249-62. Caleto built the Infirmary Church at Peterborough; thus either his guidance or that of some Norman architect he brought with him might be reasonably inferred in Woodcroft.[1]

The episode in its history that stirs our interest is the heroic defence of the castle by Dr. Michael Hudson in the Civil War, and his unmerciful death at the hands of the victorious Parliamentarians. Hudson, described by Walker as a "scholar and a plain and upright Christian," exchanged the rectory of Uffington for that of King's Cliffe in 1640. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he joined the Royalists, and after Edgehill retired to Oxford, where he was brought into contact with the King, who appointed him a court chaplain. His want of reserve and bluntness caused Charles to nickname him his "plain-dealing chaplain," "because he told him his mind when others would or durst not"; and his boldness, generosity, and almost fanatical loyalty are undoubted. His known fidelity led to his appointment as scout master to the army in the north in 1644; and later, when Charles was obliged to fly from Oxford at the approach of the army of Fairfax, Hudson and John Ashburnham were chosen to conduct Charles, disguised as a servant, to the Scotch army.

Hudson was twice caught and imprisoned, but managed to escape from the Tower early in 1648, and made his way to Lincolnshire, where he, aided by the Rev. Mr. Stiles, afterwards Warden of Brown's Hospital, Stamford, raised a party of Royalist horse. After stirring up the gentry of Norfolk, he made Woodcroft Castle the headquarters of

1 Woodcroft came into the possession of the Fitzwilliam family in the reign of Elizabeth, and it is well cared for now, though only used as a farmhouse.

the troop. Here, on the 6th of June, when the rebels succeeded in gaining possession of the house, their colonel brought the garrison to capitulate upon terms of safe quarter, but commanded, "in base revenge," that they should not spare that rogue Hudson; "upon which Hudson fought his way up to the leads, and when he saw they were pushing in about him, threw himself over the battlements (another account says he caught hold of a spout or outstone), and hung by the hands, as intending to fall into the moat beneath, till they cut off his wrists, and let him drop, and then ran down to hunt him in the water, when they found him paddling with his stumps, and barbarously knocked him on the head."[1]

By another account, he was denied the poor charity of dying on land by one Egborough. His tongue was cut out by a chandler grocer, by name Walker, "a low-bred shop-keeper of Stamford," and shown as a trophy through the country. It was remarked that Egborough was killed by the bursting of his own gun; and that Walker, poor, and obliged to abandon his trade, became a "scorned mendicant."

His body, according to Bridges, "is said to have been removed to the neighbouring parish of Uffington, near Stamford, where it was solemnly interred." "Since he is dead, let him be buried," was the concession of the Roundheads to his remains. It is also recorded he was buried at Denton, Northamptonshire, but his former parish of Uffington, near by, seems the more probable.[2]

In contrast to Woodcroft, Northborough, three miles away, is associated with the Parliamentarian party as the residence of the Claypoles. The Manor-house dates back to the middle of the fourteenth century, and although sadly mutilated and altered, it contains some of the richest decorated work of the time of Edward III. in a domestic building.

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[1] Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Bk. ix.

[2] Dr. Hudson is the original of "Rochecliffe" in Scott's novel of "Woodstock."

Manor House, Northborough.

The only original portions now remaining are the gatehouse and the hall, forming opposite sides of a court, with some portions of building adjoining the hall. When complete, it probably consisted of a quadrangle surrounded by a moat which has entirely disappeared. The gatehouse, which has lost its top story, has the principal gateway and postern recessed under the span of a fine, bold, moulded arch which gives great character to the entrance. The stone vaultings of the archway have been destroyed, as also the stair leading from the left-hand door; another door leads into a small room that was probably used as a lower guard-room. There is no provision for a portcullis or any indication of fortification now remaining, though from the structure of the building and the custom of the age, it would have originally been made capable of defence.

The range of buildings connected with the gatehouse were erected about the time of Charles I. for stables; the chambers above them contain fireplaces, indicating that they have been used for habitations, so the tradition may very probably be true that Oliver Cromwell used the stables as barracks for his soldiers. Facing the gatehouse is what remains of the house, the principal part of which is the hall, with its porch and buttress between the two tall windows; the tracery and mouldings of the windows and doorways and the ball flower ornament in a deep hollow moulding under the eaves are extremely good. The coping of the western gable is enriched with crockets, and terminated by a small octagonal chimney of beautiful design and execution, richly ornamented with canopies, surmounted by a cornice of ball flowers under a battlement. The four windows that lighted the hall, which come down unusually near to the ground for windows of that date, are well preserved, though their traceried heads are filled with plaster; their lower lights contain small diamond panes, probably coeval with the insertion of the dormer windows in the sixteenth century. The porch was erected about the time of Henry VII.; to the right of it is a long cross

building, entered from the hall by three rich stone doorways with ogee arches, finished with crockets and ball flowers. This building in all probability contained a portion of the butteries, kitchens, and other offices, but the whole arrangement of the interior is so completely obliterated that it might be doubted whether it formed part of the original buildings, were it not for the northern gable with its beautiful finial.

The interior of the hall has been completely modernised, though the original trussed rafter roof still exists above the plaster ceiling. It has now come down to be a farmhouse, like many another grand old place, and cows and ducks foregather in the grassy quadrangle, where, centuries ago, there was gay life among the retainers of the Lord of the Manor.

The builder of the house was probably, by its date, a certain Geoffrey de la Mare, who married the daughter of Geoffrey le Scrope, one of the King's Judges, and in 1346 accounted for one knight's fee in Northborough, Woodcroft, and Maxey.

In the little church at Northborough the enormous excrescence in the shape of a transept was the De la Mare chantry, probably the work of the Geoffrey who is thought to have built the house, as it is of the same beautiful Decorated style, and once doubtless was furnished by their monuments. Later it came to be the Claypole chapel; but the pitiable neglect of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has wrought as much havoc with their memorials as the iconoclastic zeal of Puritanical soldiery would have done with those of the De la Mares.

> "Here are sands, ignoble things,
> Here's a world of pomp and state
> Buried in dust, once dead by fate."

A curious privilege, the constableship of the Abbey, was held by the De la Mares. This office appears to have galled and irked the monastery of Peterborough, for it finally paid a considerable sum to be released from its

troublesome officer. Geoffrey de la Mare, who, in the twenty-second year of Edward I., brought an action against the Abbot to recover the constableship, claimed that his ancestors had been burthened from old time with summoning the military tenants of the abbey, and all the expenses of their duties were consequently charged to the abbot. "Furthermore, the said Geoffrey says that when the new-created Abbot of Peterborough makes his entrance, on the day of installation, he and his followers shall have the custody of the abbey on that day, lest any tumult or disturbance arise"—perhaps a necessary precaution, since "the constable himself shall serve the abbot on that day with his first dish, and shall have all the gold and silver vessels for his own use with which the abbot is served that day." The abbot also is to have the privilege of purchasing two robes annually for him, or in lieu of these must pay him forty shillings. Finally, the constable claims the maintenance of one horse and one groom, for the whole year, within the abbey, and also maintenance "whenever he shall visit the monastery, together with three squires, five horses, five grooms, and two greyhounds."[1] Afterwards an agreement was entered into by which Geoffrey de la Mare, in consideration of sixty marks annually, quitted his pretensions to the said constableship.

After Geoffrey de la Mare, Northborough is unknown to history, and there is no record of interest concerning the manor until, in 1564, the place came into the possession of the Claypole family. John Claypole (senior) was among those who refused to pay ship-money, and was in later years made a baronet by Cromwell. His son John married Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, in January, 1646, at Ely. She was the favourite daughter of her father, to whom her spiritual condition seems to have caused some anxiety. On one occasion, he wrote to his daughter Bridget, expressing his satisfaction that her sister Claypole "sees her own vanity and carnal mind, bewailing

1 *Chronicon Petroburgense.* Camden Society.

it, and seeks after what will satisfy."[1] Four years later, he bade her mother warn her "to take heed of a departing heart and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company which I doubt she is too subject to."[2] According to several accounts, she was too much exalted by her father's sovereignty, for which reason Mrs. Hutchinson terms her and all her sisters, excepting Mrs. Fleetwood, "insolent fools." This may be illustrated by a remark of Mrs. Claypole's at a wedding feast concerning the wives of the Major-Generals: "The feast wanting much of its grace by the absence of those ladies, it was asked by one where they were. Mrs. Claypole answered, 'I'll warrant you washing their dishes at home as they use to do.' Now the wives do all they can to hinder Mrs. Claypole from being a Princess."

According to Harington, however, "she acted the part of Princess very naturally." She is said to have interceded for Royalist prisoners, and Clarendon and other Royalist writers represent her as upbraiding her father in her last moments.[3] She died in 1658 (according to one authority, at Northborough), and was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster.

The *Mercurius Politicus* described Elizabeth as "a lady of excellent spirit and judgment, and of a most noble disposition, eminent in all princely qualities, conjoined with sincere resentments of true religion and piety." In character, there seems to have been nothing of the Puritan about her husband, for Mrs. Hutchinson terms him "a debauched, ungodly cavalier," and he is described as one "whose qualifications not answering to those honest principles formerly so pretended of putting none but godly men into places of trust, was for a long time kept out; but since the apostasy from those principles, as also the

[1] Letter xli. 1646.
[2] Letter clxxi.
[3] The first hint of this report occurs in a News letter, where it is said that the "Lady Claypole did, on her deathbed, beseech his Highness to take away the High Court of Justice."—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Report.

practice brake in . . . his relation, as son-in-law to the Protector, is sufficient to bespeak him every way as fit to be taken out of the House and made a lord; and having so long time had a negative voice over his wife, Spring Gardens, the ducks, deer, horses and asses in St. James' Park, is the better skilled how to exercise it again in the other House."[1]

Claypole had been appointed by the Protector one of the lords of his bedchamber, Master of the Horse, Warden of Whittlebury Forest, and one of Cromwell's House of Lords, which causes Pepys to refer to him as Lord Claypole. He seems to have been on intimate terms with his father-in-law; "the grand-daughter of Mr. Claypole's cook says that Oliver used to come and spend his Xmas at Northborough, and it is not at all improbable that he should pass that time at the seat of his favourite daughter, but this must have been before his exaltation to the Protectorship; the same person also remembers to have heard that the plate of King Charles I. used to grace the sideboard of Northborough."[2]

At the Restoration he escaped scot-free, and gave Cromwell's widow a home at Northborough till her death;[3] she was buried in the Claypole chapel, which has been also mentioned as one of the innumerable last resting-places of the Protector himself. It is curious that her grandson, Cromwell Claypole, left in his will that he was to be interred at Northborough "as near my grandmother Cromwell as convenience will permit." After the Restoration, John Claypole seems to have enjoyed sport with quondam cavaliers, as he is recorded as begging of one of the Royalist Verneys a dog of superior fighting capacity.[4] In 1682 he sold Northborough to Lord Fitzwilliam, the ancestor of the present owner.

ALICE DRYDEN.

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1 Second Narrative of Late Parliament. *Harl. Miscell.*
2 *House of Cromwell.* Mark Noble, 1784.
3 The date in the register was 1665.
4 *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 7th Report.

LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS.

IN literature, and in especial in early literary history, Northamptonshire has made its mark. Among its famous sons are to be found: Anthony Lord Rivers, the translator of a book which was the firstfruits of the Caxton press in England; Thomas Lord Vaux, one of the "courtly makers" of the reign of Henry VIII.; Thomas Randolph, most characteristic of the "sons" of Ben Jonson; Fuller, wittiest of divines, and most quaint-tempered of historians; the political theorist, Harrington; and, lastly, the great name of Dryden, the "abstract and brief chronicle" of his time, the acknowledged and absolute dictator of wit and criticism.

The earliest of these worthies, Anthony Woodville,[1] Earl Rivers, Lord Scales, and Newsells, Lord of the Isle of Wight, "Defendour and Directour of the siege apostolique for our holy Fader the Pope in this Royame of Englond," was the brother of the Queen of Edward IV.—a "very gentil parfite knight," *un très gentil chevalier*, in the words of Commines; studious in the intervals of his crowded life, and "devout after the manner of those whimsical times when men challenged others whom they never saw, and went barefoot to visit shrines in countries of which they had scarce a map." He, with his father, had transferred his allegiance from the Lancastrian side, after Towton, to Edward IV., and after his sister's marriage he passed by rapid steps to power. He accompanied the King's sister, Margaret, to Bruges, on the occasion of her marriage with the Duke of Burgundy, and there broke

[1] 1442(?)-1483.

eleven lances—he was an accomplished knight—with Adolf of Cleves, in the jousts with which the marriage was celebrated. He contrived to escape the tragic fate of his father at the sharp skirmish of Edgcote, from whom he now inherited the Rivers Earldom; and two years later, returning with Edward from the Low Countries, he was instrumental in securing him the victory of Barnet. These sudden changes from good to evil fortune had, however, made an impression upon his mind. In Caxton's words, he well conceived "the mutabilite and the vnstablenes of this present lyf," and that same year he obtained a safe conduct to Portugal, "to be at a day upon the Saracens." Two years later, also, though at the height of his fortune, one of the Prince of Wales's guardians, and chief Butler of England, he did not forget the "tyme of grete tribulacion and adversite" through which it had been won; and understanding that there was to be a Jubilee and Pardon in Spain (at Santiago de Compostella),[1] he was "full vertuously occupied in goyng of pilgrimagis." His badge was now the palmer's scallop shell, and in the autumn he visited St. Nicholas at Bari, and diverse holy places in southern Italy; and, finally, Rome.

Upon his voyage in 1473, "the wynd being good and the weder fayr," Lewis de Bretaylles, a Gascon knight, showed him a copy in French of "Les dits moraux des philosophes," with which Lord Rivers was greatly delighted. On his return to England in the same year, and now having more leisure, he began a translation, which occupied him some years. When finished, the work was given to Caxton to oversee, and the result was the addition of a chapter "towching wymmen," introduced by a very characteristic prologue from Caxton's own pen. This book, the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, was

1 In the British Museum (C. 18, c. 2) is "An Abbreviation of the graces and indulgences which Alexãder vj. granteth to all true believing people of every sex or communite of the grete hospytall of Saynt James of Cõpostella."

the first book with the date of imprint issued from the Caxton press at Westminster.

Upon the death of King Edward, his brother-in-law, Rivers fell into the meshes of Gloucester's policy. He set out from Ludlow, where he was with the young Prince, to meet the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, who entertained him cordially at supper in Northampton. Rivers next morning, however, was charged with "attempting to set a distance between the King and them," and, in spite of his protestations, was put under arrest with Grey, removed to Pontefract, and ordered for execution. There he directed that he should be buried "before an Image of our blessid Lady with my Lord Richard," and is said to have written on the eve of his death the single specimen of his muse that has come down to us—for his "diuerse balades agenst the seuen dedely synnes" are lost—that sad, resigned "balet" upon the mutability of fortune.

"Sum what musyng
And more mornyng
In remembring
The unstydfastnes,
. . Me thynkys truly
Bowndyn am I
And that gretly
to be content."

A century later one of the earliest poets of the court of Henry VIII. was Thomas,[1] Lord Vaux of Harrowden, the eldest son of Nicholas Vaux, first Baron of that name, a stout soldier, and magnificently lavish noble, as witness his appearance "like a star" at the marriage of Prince Arthur in a gown of purple velvet, so plated with gold that it was valued at a thousand pounds, besides a collar of SS. about his neck which weighed eight hundred pounds in nobles. This Nicholas died in 1523, bequeathing to his sons, Thomas and William, all his wearing gear, except cloth of gold, cloth of silver, and tissue. Thomas, the

[1] 1510-1556.

poet, attended in Cardinal Wolsey's train on his embassy to France, later accompanied the King to Calais and Boulogne, and was created a Knight of the Bath on the occasion of the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn in 1533. His only public office seems to have been that of Captain of the Isle of Jersey, which he surrendered in 1536. Dying in October, 1556, he was buried, it is said, in Northamptonshire. He belonged to the cultured circle of "courtly makers" at the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII., of which Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder and Surrey were the "two chief lanterns of light," and who, having travelled into Italy, and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and style of the Italian poesie, according to Puttenham, "greatly polished our rude and homely manner." Such of Lord Vaux's work that survives is overweighted with a freight of proverbial morality[1] which belongs to an age when the edge of each now well-worn die was sharper and more clear. He is described as a "noble gentleman," who much delighted in vulgar making" (vernacular poetry), but a man otherwise of so great learning.

During the Elizabethan age the poetic record of Northamptonshire is a blank; but of all the minor poets of the seventeenth century, Randolph may be considered as standing at the head: "one of such a pregnant wit that the muses may seem not only to have smiled, but to have been tickled at his nativity."

Thomas Randolph, second son of William Randolph, of Hamnes in Surrey, was born in 1608, at a house which stands on a bank at the end of the lane leading to Dodford, in Newnham, near Daventry. His was one of those bright spirits that burn too fast, and are as suddenly extinct, whose early ripeness seems to have called to mind the rare facility of Ovid; and Anthony à Wood, in his Athenæ, repeats a story that a poem upon the curious

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[1] *e.g.*, "A paire of angels eares oft tymes doeth hide a serpent's harte."
"The quaile needes never feare, in fouler's nett to fall,
If he would neuer bende his care to listen to his call."

subject of "the History of the Incarnation of our Saviour," in the boy's handwriting, was extant, composed when he was nine or ten years old. He had his schooling at Westminster as King's scholar, and was thence chosen into Trinity College, Cambridge.[1] At Cambridge, in his later life, he was rich in friends. Besides the wits of the day, Sir Aston Cokaine, Sir Kenelm Digby, Owen Feltham, Shirley the dramatist, Thomas Bancroft, and his "father," Jonson, he lived in closest terms of intimacy with the Hattons of Kirby[2] and the Staffords of Blatherwick—with Anthony Stafford and Sir Christopher Hatton the younger, afterwards Baron Hatton of Kirby, who, according to his poet friend, had a soul for other sport than hunting, other music than the cry of hounds. The greater part of Randolph's short life—he died in his thirtieth year—was doubtless spent between his native county and the university where he confesses to have found more content in the "lays"

"The shepherd of Stagira us'd to sing"

than in his life in London.

In this poem, and in some verses before Harding's "Sicily and Naples, or the Fatal Union," Randolph is treated as next in succession to Jonson, the adoptive inheritor of his pipe and portion on Parnassus hill; but his "agreeable conversation" drew him into the company of the wild bloods of London, and after staying with his father at Little Houghton, he died in the house of William Stafford in March, 1634-5, still in his "forenoon youth," and was buried by his friend among the Stafford family in Blatherwick church, in which Sir Christopher Hatton set up a monument to his friend. Upon his death the epistles dedicatory pay their tribute to his personal charm, as well as to his verses, to his adaptability to

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1 He graduated B.A. in January 1627-8. In 1631-2 he was incorporated M.A. at Oxford.

2 "Thou hast th' applause of all: King, Queen, and Court,
And University, all liked thy sport."—*James Duport.*

court life or the Cambridge schools; to his nimble and fluent genius—"He could write sooner than another think"—his native sweetness, clear from gall, and from the "stale reversions" of other's wit; and to the smoothness and even web of his verses, unlike those of the "strong bombast wits,

"whose poetry
"Sounds like a charm, or Spanish pedigree."

A second "son" of Ben Jonson was Shackerley Marmion, "a goodly proper gentleman" in the words of old Anthony à Wood, "who died, as the curse is incident to all poets, poor and in debt," never

"the chick of the white hen, old Fortune."

It was the father of the poet, however, another Shackerley Marmion, owner of the chief portions of the manor of Aynho, near Brackley, who had the spending of the family fortune;[1] for Aynho was sold in 1620 to Richard Cartwright, of the Inner Temple, when the poet was but eighteen years old, for all we know still a careful student. Leaving Wadham College four years later, the young Shackerley Marmion was forced to make his way in the Low Countries, to "trail a pyke," like many another broken gentleman, under the command of Sir Sigismund Ziszan.

The contention for advancement was keen, and not being preferred as he expected, Marmion threw away his pike and settled in London as a humble playwright in the manner of Ben Jonson, "sealed of the tribe of Ben" among the—

"Sons of comfort,
That know no sorrow, sing like grasshoppers
And fear no winter nor no poverty."

The country life, with "roots and bacon," to keep two couple of dogs and a sparrow hawk, and level his discourse

[1] He "had once in his possession seven hundred pounds per an. at least."—*Anthony à Wood.*

by them; to marry a knight's daughter, that has not one commendable quality more than to make a corner pie and a salad," was (to read the sentiments of one of his characters as his own) not to his liking.[1] In that he followed the literary tradition of his day, and in his riotous living. In 1629 the Grand Jury at the Middlesex sessions returned a true bill against him for stabbing with a sword one Edward Moore, in the highway of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, in the previous summer; but he does not appear to have been captured. He seems to have won the friendship of the last of the Elizabethans, Thomas Heywood, and of Sir John Suckling; and that sweet lyrist, that "worthy knight," is said to have taken him into his particular favour and friendship, and caused him to ride in his troop which he raised—a troop so richly and completely mounted that the cost has been estimated at £12,000—in the winter, on the ill-fated expedition against the Scottish Covenanters. Marmion, however, went with it but as far as York, where, falling sick, he was removed by easy stages to London, to die in the January of 1634, like Randolph, in his youth.

An unsuccessful rival of Randolph's at Cambridge was one Peter Hausted[2] of Queens', dramatist and divine, also a Northamptonshire man, who is remembered only by one unfortunate comedy. In the Lent term, 1631-2, great preparations were made for a visit of the King and Queen to Cambridge; nor was theatrical entertainment wanting. In the characteristic regulations of the Vice-Chancellor, taking tobacco in the Hall, "any rude or immodest exclamations" during the progress of the comedy, "any humming, hawking, whistling, hissing," or laughing were

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1 "Live in the country with roots and bacon, and not drink a cup of good wine in a twelve-month, nor know how the year goes about, but by observation of husbandry. He may keep two couple of dogs and a sparrow-hawk, and level his discourse by them. He may be styl'd a civil gentleman, ten spheres below a fool."—*Shackerley Marmion.*

2 Hausted has other connections with Northamptonshire. He was Vicar of Gretton, and at the outbreak of the Civil War was made Chaplain to the Earl of Northampton. He died in the castle of Banbury during the siege, 1645.

forbidden—the last an apparently unnecessary restriction in the case of Hausted's comedy—a satire upon simony, supported by thirty characters, with their quality writ large upon their names of Sacrilege Hooke, Zealous Knowlittle, and Hugo Obligation. Hausted, "impatient of censure, as well as his admired Ben,"[1] gave himself the consolation of printing and defending a play "cried down by boys, faction, envy, and confident ignorance, *approved by the judicious*," as the title-page has it, and in a preface dark with references to "black-mouthed calumny, base aspersions, and unchristianlike slanders," he adds, "How it was accepted by their Majesties, whom it was intended to please, we know, and had gracious signs; how the rest of the Court was affected, we know too; as for those who came with starched faces and resolutions to dislike"—and more, in the manner of the *Critic*.

More intimately connected with the county is that "stout Church- and King-man," Fuller, who speaks with a peculiar love of the great corn county, its fruitful earth and plentiful water; and "if that county esteem me no *disgrace* to it, I esteem it an *honour* to me." At Aldwinkle St. Peter's—his father was "the painful preacher" of that place—his early boyhood was passed, until he was sent, at the early age of twelve years, "a boy of pregnant wit," to Queens' College at Cambridge. He was preferred to the rectory of Broadwindsor, in Dorset, where he began his history of the Crusades, under the title of the *Historie of the Holy Warre*, marked by his peculiar humour, for wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect, which with his deportment, "according to the old English guise," made him popular in the "voiced pulpits" of London, when he was called thither in the memorable convocation of Canterbury, and which won him, when lecturer at the Chapel of St. Mary Savoy, crowded audiences, which extended far into the chapel yard. A partisan of peace,

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[1] Langbaine.

a preacher of ardent loyalism, when London was well-nigh abandoned by active royalists, Fuller was obliged to make his way secretly to the "home of lost causes," where he became chaplain to the regiment of Lord Hopton, and was considered one of the great cavalier parsons, but where, for the last five years of the war, he "had little list or leisure to write, fearing to be made a history. All that time I could not live to study, who did only study to live." Nevertheless, in his marches with his regiment round Oxford and in the west, he devoted much time to collecting materials for his work from old buildings and ancient gossips, which were afterwards made use of in his *Church History* and the *Worthies of England*.[1] Under the articles of surrender, Fuller finally made his composition with the government, and in an equally curious and characteristic petition to compound, he acquainted the committee that he was lodging at[2] the Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, and the word "*Croune*" is written in large letters and designedly falls in the centre of the page. In his grief over his losses in the war, which included his library and his manuscripts—"his upper and nether millstones"—he prepared his work on the *Wounded Conscience* at Boughton, in Northamptonshire, where he was kindly entertained by Edward Lord Montagu, and where, as he says, he was restored to his former self. During the next few years he was dependent upon his dealings with the booksellers, of whom he asserted that none had ever lost by him. Among Fuller's patrons was the Earl of Carlisle, who presented him with the curacy of Waltham Abbey, in which he was not disturbed even in the "dangerous" year of 1655; and being restored part of his pillaged library, he proceeded to bring out his *Pisgah-sight of Palestine* and his *Church History of Britain*, "from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the year

[1] After the defeat of Hopton at Cheriton Down, Fuller retired to Basing House.
[2] 1646.

1648," and the *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, a remarkable book, embracing every topic from the mysteries of religion to the Tale of a Tub. Fuller's arguments, shortly before the Restoration, tended to swell the cry for a full and free Parliament—free from force, as he expresses it—and there is good reason to suppose he was at the Hague immediately before the Restoration, in the retinue of Lord Berkeley. Upon the accession of Charles II., Fuller's lost appointments were restored to him for the year before he died, in August, 1661. Upon his mural tablet in the chancel of Cranford Church is writ the conceit that while attempting to give immortality to others,[1] he himself attained it.

A contemporary of Fuller, a republican in principle, and yet a groom of the bed-chamber to the King, was James Harrington,[2] eldest son of Sir Sapcotes Harrington of Rand in Lincolnshire, born at Upton in Northamptonshire. After leaving Oxford without a degree, he travelled to Holland, where his interest in problems of government was first aroused, and where he joined the Court of the Elector and Electress Palatine, then living in exile near Arnheim, where he was welcomed for "his own pleasantness of outward wit and inward gravity of thought," and, no doubt, for his attractive person, with "his quick-hot fiery eie, and thick moist curled hair."[3] He served abroad in the regiment of William Lord Craven, and became familiar with the Court of the Prince of Orange. Afterwards, he travelled through France to Rome, where he appears to have been too obdurate, at the Pope's consecration of waxlights, in refusing to obtain one, as the others did, by kissing His Holiness's toe, excusing himself afterwards to Charles I. for his want of compliance by saying that he would not kiss the foot of any prince after kissing the King's hand. His Majesty was satisfied with the reply.

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1 *i.e.*, in the *Worthies*. 2 1611-1677. 3 Aubrey.

During the Civil War, Harrington contented himself with a "fugitive and cloistered" life, and, a partisan of neither side, took no active part in politics. With Thomas Herbert, he followed the King from Newcastle to his "princely manor of Holdenby," where, at the request of the King, they were made his grooms of the bed-chamber, and personally called to him to be instructed in the duty and services he expected from them. His Majesty loved Harrington's company, says Anthony à Wood, and finding him to be an ingenious man, chose rather to converse with him than with others of his chamber. They had often discourses concerning government; but when they happened to talk of a Commonwealth, the King seemed not to endure it. On the uncivil entry of Joyce Cornet to remove the King, Harrington was one of the four gentlemen whose duty it was and care to preserve His Majesty's person, and who were resolved to sacrifice their lives rather than give him admittance. He followed Charles to the Isle of Wight, but was afterwards dismissed on account of an imprudent conversation with some officers, in which he openly showed sympathy with the King. Afterwards, when the King was being taken to Windsor, Harrington got leave to bid him farewell at the door of his carriage. As he was about to kneel, the King took him by the hand and pulled him in. An oath was required of him that he would not aid or abet the King's escape, and he was imprisoned upon his open and sincere refusal to take this promise; but before his master's death he was found with him again, and Toland and Aubrey further say that he walked with him to the scaffold. In 1656 he produced "The Commonwealth of Oceana" (the Island of England), and Toland relates that his papers were seized by Cromwell and restored through the intercession of Mrs. Claypole, whom Harrington had threatened with stealing her child unless her father would restore his. During the confusion that followed Cromwell's death, Harrington's Club, the Rota, which met nightly at Miles' Coffee-house in New

Palace Yard, discussed the introduction of his political theories. In November,[1] 1661, he was carried to the Tower. His aphorisms were lying on his desk, and as they were to be carried off also, he asked only that they might be stitched together in their proper order. He was examined before Lauderdale his kinsman, and others, and Clarendon accused him, on a conference of the houses, of being concerned in a plot. He was shipped off to St. Nicholas' island in Plymouth Harbour, and afterwards was allowed to move to Plymouth, where he was more humanely treated. His mind, however, had given way, and one of his illusions was, that his diseases were caused by evil spirits, whom he identified with flies. Upon his release he lived at the Little Ambry, and on his death was buried on the south side of the altar of St. Margaret's Church, next to Sir Walter Raleigh.

Of George Jeffreys,[2] the leisured versifier; of Welsted, preserved, like a fly in amber, by the accident of Pope's enmity,

> "drawn endlong by his scull,
> Furious he sinks, precipitately dull,
> . . With all the might of gravitation blest,"[3]

it is needless to speak. But among the "poor poets militant" of a later period, to use Cowley's expression, Clare, a day labourer, the peasant poet, a very son of

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1 The date is fixed by an entry in the *Danby Papers*, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *Eleventh Report, Appendix*, Part VII.

1661. 25 Nov. Warrant (by Sir E. Nichols) for the close imprisonment of James Harrington for high treason in conspiring to change the government.

1662. 25 July. Orders by the King for the delivery of . . . James Harrington to Captain Jas. Lambert, "commander of our yacht the *Anne*, to be transported."

2 George Jeffreys (1678-1755), born at Little Weldon, Northants, passed most of his life in the houses of his relations, the Dukes of Chandos, where, as Lord Cork says, "he moved and spoke the gentleman." He was the author of a tragedy, *Edwin*, which, it is said, before acting brought its author above £1,000.

3 Leonard Welsted, 1688-1747, born at Abington in Northamptonshire. In the words of one of Pope's notes upon him: "He writ other things which we cannot remember."

the soil, has but little in common with the courtly makers, the university-bred scholars who came before him.

John Clare, perhaps "the least favoured by circumstances and the most destitute of friends of any that ever existed," was born at Helpstone in 1793, the only son of Parker and Ann Clare, his father a poor labourer in receipt of parish relief. "At his own home, therefore, he saw poverty in all its most affecting shapes."

It seems extraordinary that Clare should, in these circumstances, have found the means to acquire any learning whatever, since, from the age of eight, he was set to keep sheep and geese on the common, where he learnt old songs from the village cowherd. Five years afterwards he wrought on a farm, and in about eight weeks he generally acquired as many pence as would pay for a month's schooling, where, from the judicious encouragement of his schoolmaster, he sometimes obtained threepence a week in rewards. He endeavoured to enter a lawyer's office, studied algebra, and fell in love, became a pot-boy in a public-house, and subsequently obtained a place as under-gardener at Burghley Park, from which he ran away to enlist in the militia. On this being disbanded, he got work at a lime-kiln, and there, out of nine shillings a week, he saved enough money to buy a large blank paper book to be filled with his poems.

It was an accident which led to their publication.[1] In December, 1818, a bookseller of Stamford met by chance with a Sonnet to the Setting Sun, written upon a piece of foolscap, in which a letter had been wrapped up and signed "J.C." At his request, Clare made a collection of the pieces he had written. In 1820, his *Poems Descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery* appeared, which

1 "My fate has ever been," he writes, "hard labour among the most vulgar and lowest conditions of men. I was working alone in the lime-pits, at Ryhall, in the dead of winter, 1818, when, knowing it impossible for me to pay a shoemaker's bill of more than three pounds, . . . I resolved upon publishing proposals for printing a small volume of poems by subscription."

brought him a short season of popularity. Madame Vestris recited his verses at Covent Garden, and one was set to music by Rossini. He was asked by Lord Fitzwilliam to Milton, where he dined in the servants' hall; and a small income of forty-five pounds was assured to him by his patrons.

His second effort, *The Village Minstrel*, however, with the *Shepherd's Calendar*, met with little success, which was not increased by his hawking it himself, so that according to one of his biographers, Mr. Martin, he found that stone-breaking would have been more profitable, and returned to work in the fields.

He was unsuccessful in farming, and "as dull as a fog in November"; and though a patron offered him a new cottage and a piece of ground, Clare was in despair at leaving the "old home of homes" for Northborough. Gradually his mind gave way, after the publication of his *Rural Muse*, which was noticed by Christopher North alone.

His parents had feared for his mind as a boy, and when they found him hourly employed in writing, "the gear was not mended"; and later in life a decided fit of insanity showed itself when he was watching the "Merchant of Venice." He lived for some time in an asylum, and at the close of his life, harmlessly insane, used to sit under the portico of All Saints' Church[1] in Northampton.

His poetry, naturally imitative, modelled upon the poetry of the cultured classes, drew its inspiration from Thomson's *Seasons;* local words, local colour, is rare, and disappears almost entirely in his latest works; so that, except for the hardness of his fortune, he bears little likeness to other peasant poets, except that, like the majority of them, his verse is "at best, like small wines, to be drunk out upon the place, and has not body enough to endure" the transport.

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[1] He died in May, 1864.

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON AND HIS HOMES.

"Then did I see a pleasant paradize
Full of sweete flowers and daintiest delights,
Such as on earth man could not more devize;
With pleasure's choyce to feed his cheerful sprights.
Since that I saw the gardine wasted quite,
That where it was scarce seemèd anie sight;
That I, which once the beautie did beholde,
Could not from teares my melting eyes with-holde."

Ruins of Time.

PROMINENT among the names of great men and public officials in the reign of Elizabeth—a roll which includes among the worthies of the county the names of Cecil Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer; Sir Walter Mildmay of Apethorpe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Christopher Yelverton of Easton Maudit, the Speaker of the House of Commons; Edward Griffin of Dingley, the Attorney-General—is that of Sir Christopher Hatton, the dancing Chancellor, of whom but little is remembered but his home, Kirby, and that "last and greatest monument of his youth," his palace of Holdenby.

Christopher Hatton, one of the sons of William Hatton of Holdenby—a Cheshire family of long descent—was born at Holdenby in 1540, and his two brothers dying in their youth, succeeded to the paternal estate. He appears to have been brought up[1] as a Roman

[1] Letter to Sir Christopher Hatton, 1573, June 25th, reminds him that he was first baptized in the Catholic faith, that he continued therein for many years, and of the danger of forsaking the same.—*MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury*, Part II., *Hist. MSS. Comm.*

Gateway, Holdenby.

Catholic, and to have continued so for some time. After leaving Oxford without taking a degree, he was, in 1559, admitted to the Society of the Inner Temple, where, as Fuller tells us, "he rather took a bait than made a meal" of the law. He is said to have first attracted the Queen's notice by his "handsome" dancing (and no less proper person) at a masque at Court, and subsequently became one of her gentlemen pensioners in 1564. To equip him, an order was given to the master of the armoury commanding him to "cause to be made one armour complete, fit for the body of our well-beloved Christopher Hatton, one of our gentlemen pensioners, he paying according to the just value thereof."[1] But, though "he came into the court by a galliard," his subsequent higher offices in the Queen's service, Camden says, he owed to "the modest sweetness of his manners," for he soon won his way into intimacy and favour with his mistress. After the fashion of the Queen with her servants and favourites, as Burghley was her leviathan, Leicester her sweet robin, Egerton her dromedary, and Oxford her boar, Hatton was her "Lyddes," and at other times her mutton, her bell-wether, her *pecora campi*. Honours were heaped upon him; he was given the manor and lands of Sulby, nominally in exchange for his manor of Holdenby, which was leased to him for forty years, and was two years later conveyed to him in fee. He was also granted the reversion of the office of Queen's remembrancer in the exchequer, estates in Yorkshire, Dorsetshire, and Herefordshire, the reversion of the monastery of De Pratis in Leicestershire, the stewardship of the manor of Wellingborough, and the wardship of three minors. Finally, he was knighted, in 1577—Elizabeth was very parsimonious of such honours—at Windsor Castle. In 1575, the manor of Chapel Brampton was conferred upon him, with a settlement of four hundred pounds a year for his life; and a grant of

[1] This suit was made by Jacobi, whose drawings exist in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

land in various parts of England, together with Corfe Castle, followed hard upon this benefaction in the following year. A year later, he was also put in possession of Ely House, for which he obtained a formal grant from the Crown.

The Queen's favour is shown in things small as well as great. In return for his New Year's gifts, Hatton invariably received four hundred ounces of gold plate, though the largest quantity given even to the highest personages never exceeded two hundred. When he fell ill in 1573 she visited him daily. Her own physician was sent with him when he was ordered to Spa for his health. On his journey, Hatton's letters are full of the Elizabethan hyperbole of passion: "My spirit," he wrote, "agreeth with my body and life that to serve you is heaven, but to lack you is more than hell's torment with them. Would to God that I were with you but for an hour. My wits are overwrought with thoughts. I find myself amazed. Passion overcometh me. I can write no more. Love me, for I love you." Another letter in absence declares that "this is the twelfth day since I saw the brightness of that sun that giveth light unto my sense and soul. I was an amazed creature. Live for ever, most excellent creature, and love some man to show yourself thankful for God's high labour in you." The "god of his idolatry," addressed in this last letter, was forty years of age.[1]

His person was, however, not the only way to Elizabeth's favour. Though she loved those who were "perfumed and courtlike to please her delicate eye, meaning dancers, and meaning Lord Leicester and Mr. Hatton," as a jealous contemporary writes, she was not likely to have made him Vice-Chamberlain, Privy Councillor, knight, and Great Seal, and in Parliament her recognized mouthpiece, if she had not approved of his abilities. Indeed, according

1 "God send us both long to enjoy Her, for whom we both meant to exceed our purses in these" (their respective buildings).—*Burghley*.

to Fuller, his parts were far above learning, and made up for any deficiency of education.

In 1581, the Great Seal was delivered to Hatton when the Queen made and constituted him Lord Chancellor of England. He was also one of the Commission that sat upon the trial of Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay, and intrigued on behalf of Elizabeth, it is reported, for Mary's death.

In the summer of 1589, the Chancellor was at the marriage of his nephew and heir, Sir William Newport, to Elizabeth, daughter of Judge Gawdy, at his house of Holdenby, where "my Lord Chancellor danced the measures at the solemnity." He left the gown in a chair, saying, "Lie thou there, Chancellor," for—

> "Full oft within the spacious walls,
> When he had fifty winters o'er him,
> The grave Lord Keeper led the brawls,
> The seals and maces danced before him."

Before his death, Hatton appears to have fallen from his mistress's favour, and Naunton speaks of him as "a mere vegetable of the Court that sprung at night and sunk again at noon." He fell sick, and a friend of his, Mr. Fortescue, speaks of his "broken estate and great debts." As an addition to his difficulties, the Queen exacted from him large sums, which he, its seems, never expected to pay. "It brake his heart," writes Fuller, "and cast him into a disease." Elizabeth visited him, and bade him live for her sake. But he said: "All will not do; no pulleys will draw up a heart once cast down, though a queen herself should set her hand thereto." He died at his place, Ely House, Hatton Gardens, on November 20th, 1591, and was buried with much pomp in St. Paul's, a hundred poor people, who had caps and gowns given them for the occasion, going before his body, which was also attended by three hundred gentlemen and yeomen, the Lords of the Council, and eighty of the Queen's guard.

After his death and the death of his nephew, Sir William Hatton, their affairs seem to have got into Chancery, and a statement of Sir Christopher's debts and credits were laid before Lord Ellesmere. It had connection, no doubt, with the debt reported to have been vigorously claimed and enforced by Queen Elizabeth.

"The greate Debt 48,037*li.*,

which debt to the queene before his death grew to be 4,000*li.* more." In another part of the same paper,[1] the great debt of Sir Christopher is thus divided:—

	£	s.	d.
To the queene	18,071	12	2
To the subject	23,647	8	5½

Sir William Newport took the name of Hatton, and married, secondly, the daughter of the first Earl of Exeter, afterwards famous as "the Lady Hatton," a beauty at the Court of King James, courted in second marriage by Sir Francis Bacon, and also by Sir Edward Coke, who won her. Sir William dying without heirs male, Holdenby and the Hatton estates passed under the Chancellor's settlement to Sir Christopher Hatton,[2] father of the first Baron Hatton of Kirby. This gentleman won considerable distinction. He was made a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Charles I., in 1626, and for his loyalty to the Royal cause was created Baron Hatton on July 29th, 1643.

After the Restoration, he was made Governor of Guernsey, of which he wrote an account, "said to be admirably well done."[3] He is mentioned in Walpole's

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1 *Tracts relating to the County of Northampton*, 1st series (Sir Christopher Hatton). All Sir Christopher's jewels were sold by his nephew to the Countess of Shrewsbury and others, "saveing one blewe saphire which he used to weare at his shirt string, which only came to the La Hatton's handes."

2 Grandson and heir of John Hatton, of Gravesend, in Kent, younger brother of William Hatton, father of the Lord Chancellor.

3 *Bridges.*

Noble Authors as having published "The Psalms of David with titles and collects according to the matter of each psalm"[1]; moreover, his memory is to be honoured for the assistance he gave to Sir William Dugdale in his works, and preserving the inscription in the monuments of most of the cathedrals in the kingdom, the drawings of which, at his own charge, were depicted in two folio volumes. "He afterwards forsook his family," says Roger North, to live in Scotland Yard, London, and "divert himself with the company and discourse of players and such idle people." He died at Kirby on July 4th, 1670, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

His son, afterwards first Viscount Hatton, succeeded him in the Governorship of Guernsey, and was, with his family, two years later, the victim of a terrible explosion, caused by a powder magazine being struck by lightning. His wife and mother were killed; he himself was carried in his bed a distance of some yards, and was thrown struggling on the ramparts, and his two children were rescued unhurt from the ruins. His two sons, successively second and third Viscount Hatton, died without issue, and with them the Barony and Viscounty of Hatton became extinct, the estates devolving upon the Hon. Edward Finch Hatton.

Holdenby House, which the Lord Chancellor esteemed "the last and greatest monument of his youth," was, in his time, "a faire patterne of stately and magnificent building," and "maketh a faire glorious show."

It was built, as Hatton writes, as a "young Theobalds," in direct observation (*i.e.*, imitation) of Lord Burghley's house and plot at Tyballs (Theobalds), but when the Lord Treasurer was there in the summer of 1579 he declared Theobalds to be but a foil to it, in spite of Hatton's modest disclaimers on the score that his house was

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[1] Printed at Oxford, 1644. A. Wood says that "they were compiled by Dr. Jer. Taylor, though they go under the name of the Lord Hatton" (*Athenæ*, vol. i., p. 254).

"unbuilt, and through newness dampish, and full of evil air"; and writes in praise of his entertainment:—

"SIR,—I may not pass out of this good house without thanks on your behalf to God, and on mine to you, nor without memory of her Majesty, to whom it appeareth this goodly, perfect though not perfected work is consecrated. . . . Approaching to the house, being led by a large, long straight fair way, I found a great magnificence in the front or front pieces of the house, and so every part answerable to other, to allure liking. I found no thing of greater grace than your stately ascent from your hall to your great chamber; and your chambers answerable with largeness and lightsomeness, that truly a Momus could find no fault. . . . From a monument of her Majesty's bountifulness to a thankful servant, that is, from Holdenby, Queen Elizabeth's memory, by Sir Christopher Hatton, her faithful servant[1] and counsellor."[2]

Sir H. Heneage is as loud in Holdenby's praise as Burghley. To him it is altogether the best house that has been built in this age for "seat, beauty, and use both within and without."

Another writer terms it incomparable, with no fellow[3] in England, and notes a curious detail about its chimneys.

Norden, again, writes of its glories:—

"In the hall theare are raised three peramides very high standing insteade of a shryne, the midst whearof ascendeth into the roofe of the hall, the other two equal with the syde walls of the same hall, and on

1 In *Nichols' Progresses of James I.*, vol. i. Holdenby is thus noticed in a masque by Ben Jonson, played before Queen Anne at Althorpe, 1603:—

"They come to see, and to be seen,
And though they dance afore the Queen,
There's none of these doth hope to come by
Wealth to build another Holmby."

2 *Life of Sir Chr. Hatton*, by Sir Harris Nicholas.

3 "And here I cannot but speake of the bountie of that noble gentleman, Sir Christopher Hatton, my very good master and upholder, who having builded a house in Northamptonshire called by the name of Holdenby, whiche house, for the bravery of the buildings, for the stateliness of the chambers, for the rich furniture of the lodgings, for the convenience of the offices, and for all other necessaries appurtenant to a palace of pleasure, is thought by those that have judgment to be incomparable, and to have no fellow in England that is out of her Majesty's hands; and although this house is not yet fully finished, and is but a new erection, yet it differeth far from the works that are used now-a-days in many places. I mean where the houses are built with a great number of chimneys, and yet the smoke comes forth at but one only tunnel. This house is not built on that manner, for as it hath sundry chimneys, so they cast forth several smokes."—*Riche, his Farewell to Militarie Profession*, 1581.

them are depainted the armes of all the gentlemen of the same shire, and of all the noblemen of the land. The situation of the same house is very pleasantlie contrived, mountinge on a hill environed with most ample and lardge fields and goodly pastures, manie young groves newly planted, both pleasant and profitable, a parke adjoyninge of fallow deare, with a large warren of conyes not far from the house. Above the rest is especially to be noted, with what industrye and toyle of man the garden hath been raised, levelled, and formed out of a most craggye and unprofitable grounde, now framed a most pleasante, sweet, and princely place with divers walks, manie ascendings and descendings, replenished also with manie delightful trees of fruite, artificially composed arbors, and a destilling house on the west end of the same garden. . . . To conclude, the state of the same house is such, and so beautiful that it may well delight a prince."[1]

This it certainly seems to have succeeded in doing, for Holdenby became a favoured house with the Stuarts during the early part of the seventeenth century. Anne of Denmark, accompanied by Prince Henry, rested during the heat of the day here, on her way to Althorpe; and James was a constant visitor. In the next reign, Henrietta Maria, to whom the place belonged by dower, stayed at Holdenby for a considerable time in 1636, according to some letters written by two priests to Rome at the end of the year. The services in the chapel, according to their account, seem to have struck the visitors who came to see it. "Truly it would make the stones weep to see and hear these poor citizens; they look at it again and again, and one says to another, 'What evil thing is done in this chapel?' Others, heaving a profound sigh, say, 'Once we had these beautiful things in our churches.'"

From a royal pleasure-house, Holdenby passed to a

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1 In Bishop Corbet's *Iter Boreale* there is a pleasant apostrophe to the tutelar laws, the giants, with which Sir Christopher had ornamented this magnificent mansion. The traveller had just witnessed the ruin of Nottingham Castle, notwithstanding the two giants which still stood at the gates; and he reproaches them with the fidelity of their brethren at Holmby and Guildhall, who had carefully kept the respective buildings intrusted to them.

"Oh, you that doe Guildhall and Holmeby keep,
Soe carefully when both the founders sleepe."
—Gilchrist's Edition, p. 183.

royal prison, when the King's cause declined and there was a question as to the disposal of his person. The Lords voted for Newmarket, the Commons for Holmby House; and to this the Lords at last agreed. To Holdenby, then, the King was ordered; and, somewhat retarded by the white weather, he arrived in February, 1647, at this house, "such as might well delight a prince," while throngs of his poorer subjects gathered to cheer him on the Harborough road.

The royal state was kept up during Charles' respectful imprisonment, though he was denied his chaplains, and reduced to saying grace himself "under the State." "All the tables were as well furnish'd as they used to be when his majesty was in a peaceful and flourishing state." Charles frequently walked in the garden with one or other of the commissioners, and would sometimes ride to Lord Vaux's house of Harrowden, or to Althorpe—where he found the *bias* not true—or to Boughton, to play at bowls. One day, as he was on his way to Boughton, he alighted at Brampton ford, where stood a follower of his, a Major Bosvile, disguised as a countryman, with an angle-rod in his hand. He was detected in conveying letters into the King's hand, and his examination discovered that he had lodged two nights in a furze bush and three nights at a countryman's, to wait for his opportunity. He was sent to Newgate, by order of the House of Commons.

One afternoon, the 2nd of June, when the King was at bowls at Althorpe, it was whispered among his gentlemen that a party of seven hundred horse were at Kingsthorpe. At break of day, the troops appeared at Holdenby, drawn up in front of the great gates of the backyard, and the soldiers in charge of the King, instead of opposing them, flung open the gates. Next day, Cornet Joyce, their leader, demanded to speak with the King. "From whom?" they said. "From myself," said he; at which they laughed. After some parley, he roundly said, "My errand is to the King, and speak with him I must,

and will presently." Joyce, on entering the King's room, found him in bed, and apologised for having disturbed him out of his sleep. "No matter," returned the King, "so as you mean me no harm." The King with difficulty agreed to Joyce's intention of removing him from Holdenby; and the Cornet's party was mounted in marching order by six o'clock in the morning, drawn up in the first court of the house. The King, addressing them from the top of the steps, asked the Cornet what commission he had. "Here is my commission," returned Joyce. "Where," inquired the King. "Behind me," retorted Joyce, pointing to his soldiers. The King, smiling, observed, "it was a fair, well-written commission, legible without spelling," and followed his escort to Newmarket, leaving behind him the last place where he enjoyed relative freedom.

When the estate was alienated by the trustees for the sale of crown lands, the value of the house for building materials, and of the timber, tempted one Adam Baynes, a Yorkshire speculator, to buy the estate, cut down the woods, and destroy part of the house. Thus Sir Christopher Hatton's Palace did not exist one century intact. In July, 1675, when Evelyn was staying with Lord Sunderland at Althorpe, he writes in his diary of a prospect to Holmby House, which, being demolished in the "late Civil Warrs, shows like a Roman ruine, shaded by the trees about it, a stately, solemn, and pleasing view." Part of the material was removed to Northampton, where three houses which sprung from it may be recognised.[1]

The destruction, however, cannot have been so complete as is sometimes stated, for Celia Fiennes, in the reign of William and Mary, writes of Holmby's "stone buildings,

[1] As Crown land, after the Restoration, in the eighteenth of Charles II., Holdenby was given to the Duke of York, who sold it to Lewis Duras, Baron Holdenby (afterwards Earl of Feversham). It next passed by purchase to John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough; and from the third Duke it passed by sale to his son-in-law, the second Viscount Clifden.

with towers almost Like a Castle, old built," and "The row of trees Exact on each side, and avenues."[1]

The ruins of Holdenby often appear as backgrounds to pictures by Wootton, as shown by examples at Althorpe, Blenheim, and Devonshire House.

All that now remains of the Palace of Holdenby, besides the two gateways, is a portion of the north side of the second quadrangle (that had the conduit in its centre), which is now embodied in the south front of the present house, built by the late Viscount Clifden. It contains some half-dozen windows and chimneys similar to those of Kirby.[2]

The two gateways, standing as they do alone in a field, shorn of their original surroundings and supporting walls, appear heavy and meaningless. Originally they were the two side entrances to the great base—or fore—court of the house; the porter's lodge or gatehouse standing midway to the east of them. Their date is 1586, and they were evidently designed with intent to hold the shield containing the fourteen quarterings of Sir Christopher Hatton. The panels of irregular sandstone are curious, and whether they were meant to be faced or not, they certainly give colour to the arches.

The present entrance gateway, dated 1659, is well done for its date, and some of the detail is evidently copied from the earlier ones. A portion of the woodwork of the house, doubtless part of the hall screen, now forms the screen in the church, and the two excellent wooden figures of Roman soldiers belong to it.

The gardens were elaborately laid out with "pleasant mounts," a bowling green, and a rosery in the centre of the great plateau which flanked by eight terraces on either side and crowned by the "King's Walk," sloped down to the fish-ponds by the church. Traces of other gardens

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1 *Through England on a Side Saddle in the time of William and Mary.* Holmby was then the property of the Earl of Feversham.

2 Page 244.

West Front, Kirby.

were formerly to be seen in the adjacent green fields, into which they had returned. Much has now been reclaimed and laid out again *à la moderne*. But the old "lay-out" has been taken no account of, and the historic "King's Walk," 320 yards long, perhaps after that at Windsor the most historic platform in England, on which the troubled King paced rapidly to and fro with the Earl of Pembroke, has been heedlessly planted into.

Even now, in its diminished splendour, there is no fairer place in all the Midlands, and no more charming view, speaking to our minds alike of the historic past and the peaceful present, than that seen from Holdenby, in its commanding stately position, looking across the green pastures stocked with sheep and oxen and studded with noble trees, to the wooded heights of Althorpe opposite. To the sportsman, if not to the *littérateur*, it has all been endowed with life by Whyte Melville in *Holmby House*.

The sadness of the ruin of what was one of the finest houses in England is inexpressibly melancholy. Not that there is anything gloomy about the surroundings of Kirby; it stands cheerfully enough in the midst of a large field, in a charming part of the county formerly in the limits of Rockingham Forest; but the almost sudden collapse from the courtly home of the Hattons to its present condition strikes a chill to one's spirit. And there is the mystery; no one has destroyed but Time and neglect, and they seem to have dealt out destruction with a more than usually rapid hand. Only about eighty years ago it was inhabited, and its condition was such that at the time of the great Napoleon's threatened invasion it was spoken of as a suitable retreat for the Court. It would seem that the family left it one day, and no repair was ever done afterwards; gradually the greater part of the roof decayed, the quarries in the windows fell out, the ivy grew up the porch, nettles found a home in the courts, and a field took the place of the garden, once filled with choice plants.

It is now beyond repair, but with a little care its owners can preserve it as it is, still a precious relic of the time when art and literature were at a very high level.

Kirby, from its size, its completeness and its variety of detail is one of the finest monuments left to us of the Renaissance.

Of all domestic work in the county of Northampton, it shows the greatest variety of detail, the richest ornamentation, and the most picturesque treatment. It has not the simplicity and unity of Rushton, but it is more interesting and less indebted to the "Orders" for its effect than Burghley. It is only in the inner courtyard that they are used, and here they are handled in a manner so free from conventional restraint as to be very pleasing."[1]

Kirby was not built by Hatton, though he may have bought it before it was finished. It was designed by John Thorpe for Sir Humphrey Stafford of Blatherwyck; and on Thorpe's original plan in the Soane Museum is written: "Kerby whereof I layd ye first stone A° 1570." The dates 1572 and 1575 occur on the parapet, and the former also on the porch to the great hall, dividing the motto "IE SERAY LOYAL." On the parapet, also, in two panels, is the name—

HVM STA
FRE FARD

His arms—*or, a chevron gules, a canton ermine*—are carved in the frieze over one of the small doors of the great court; and his crest, *out of a ducal coronet per pale or and gules, a boar's head and neck sable*, occurs not only in the friezes of the doors with the initials "H.S.," but is also repeated many times in the carved bands that make the circuit of the court, where it alternates with the Stafford knot and another crest. This crest, a *wolf's head and neck gorged between two wings*, and bearing a crescent for difference,

[1] *Architecture of the Renaissance in England*, J. Alfred Gotch.

is difficult to identify; probably it is that of Tame, as Stafford's mother was sister and co-heiress of Sir Edward Tame; and on this point, Leland[1] may be quoted: "Belikelihood Sir Humfre Stafford son to Old Stafford of Northamptonshire is like to have the landes of Tame of Fairforde, for he married his sister." This supposition is borne out by the initials "M. S." bound with a true lovers' knot, also occurring in one of the panels in the frieze of a door balanced with "H. S." treated in similar fashion, thus forming the initials of the builder's parents or those of himself and his mother.[2]

The Stafford crest occurs again on the bosses of a ceiling, and it is likely Sir Humphrey saw much of the interior finished, for the roof of the great hall and what remains of that which formerly covered the long gallery correspond in style with his date of building. The hall roof is of unusual form, retaining the Gothic wind-braces only as curved diagonal ribs for ornament across the boards that close in the ceiling behind the main timbers.

Kirby is an example of the period when uniformity of plan and elevation was largely sought by the architects of the time. The inner court is quite symmetrically treated; door answers to door, window to window, and the great windows of the hall on the right are exactly balanced by similar windows on the left, although inside the last are divided by a floor. The long gallery was a necessary feature of all houses, and at Kirby was placed on the western side of the court over the "lodgings." Of these "lodgings," which were used for guests, every room communicated with its neighbour, and every suite of two or three had its door to the court, so that the guests had to cross in the open in all weathers to reach the hall, which

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1 *Itinerary*, vol. vi., fo. 18.

2 Burke's *Armoury* gives a *wolf's head, erased gules, ducally gorged or* for the Tame family, with arms of *azure, three bars or*, whereas the arms of the Fairford Tames on the Stafford brass in Blatherwick Church are a dragon and lion combatant.

was still the dining place. As the hall was still carried up to the roof in medieval fashion, there was no way from the upper rooms of one side of the court to the other on the same level, but to minimise these inconveniences as much as possible, there were at Kirby five principal staircases besides a subordinate one. The family apartments, amongst which were those with the great circular bay windows, were at the dais end of the hall; the kitchens were to the south-east, on the other side of the screens.

Some special features of the exterior design are the early date of the appearance of the Italian loggia[1] on the north side of the court, designed to make a "sun-trap" towards the south; "the gable over the porch in the court-yard has no counterpart in England, and the coping of the parapet round the whole court has an unusual but effective wave ornament." On the north-east side of the loggia is the ruined staircase, which has the remains of a noticeable hand-rail worked in the stone wall and returned round the column forming the jamb of the door, the hood moulding of which is returned to form the capital of the opposite column. The ornament used, of whatever kind, is invariably refined, both in feeling and execution, and of more variety than is usual in Elizabethan work. The chimneys throughout are of good design, those of Stafford's building being singularly elegant, while those of Thorpe's later work are peculiarly his own, and are the more interesting since it has been shown by Mr. Albert Hartshorne that these and the window mouldings were evidently worked from the same drawings or templates as those of Holdenby, which Thorpe was directing at the same time.

In 1575, on the death of Sir Humphrey Stafford, his son sold Kirby to Hatton, but it was not till September of 1580 that Hatton, writing to Sir Thomas Heneage, says that he is about to take his way to Sir Edward Brudenell's (Deane) "to view my house of Kirby, which I have never

[1] *Early Renaissance Architecture in England*, J. Alfred Gotch.

Hall Porch, Kirby.

yet surveyed; leaving my other shrine, I mean Holdenby, still unseen until that holy saint (Queen Elizabeth) shall sit in it, to whom it is dedicated!"

Hatton probably made various alterations to the building, but these were in the same style, by Thorpe; among them were the curved gables of the west front, and either the southern end of that front or the two circular bays that are such a feature on the south, since at the south-west angle the mouldings diverge in different patterns. The stables, also, which have now entirely disappeared, were dated 1590.

The next date of building at Kirby was 1638-40, when Christopher, afterwards the first Baron Hatton, employed Inigo Jones to bring his house into line with the latest fashion. The entire north front was remodelled, the mullioned windows taken out and replaced with sash windows; and over the centre a large attic story was added, and with it a clock and its lantern, now gone; the outer court had new gateways built in its existing balustrade, one large one on each side, and one small and charming doorway opposite to the entrance to the inner court. Inside the court, on the north side, the windows were similarly replaced by Inigo Jones, and the chimneys are of his work also; but he left the arcade, pilasters, and cornices of the original work.[1] On the south side he put in the small door on the left, and the window and balcony over the hall porch, which was an unhappy insertion, spoiling the better original work. Inside, a new staircase was built, crowned with an elaborate plaster ceiling in four coves, bearing the Hatton arms, and with charming amorini in the foliage decoration: all of this plunged into ruin a few years ago.

Since that time the house has remained untouched by any builder's hand. A part of the west front is used by a shepherd, and one of the principal rooms with bay

1 The head of Apollo is the work of Nicholas Stone, as appears from his note books in the Soane Museum.

windows is still water-tight. The stonework of the building has naturally been more fortunate than the interior, and has not been so seriously affected. The colour and the sharpness of the sculpture are not the least striking features of the place, and speak volumes for the durability of the Weldon stone of which it is built.

The gardens were very celebrated, for the first Viscount Hatton seems to have been an enthusiastic horticulturist. John Evelyn paid a visit to Kirby, and describes it as "a very noble house of my Lord Hatton's in Northamptonshire, built *à la moderne;* the garden and stables agreeable, but the avenue was ungraceful, and the seate naked." This last was evidently remedied by time, as in 1694 Charles Hatton writes to Lord Hatton: "Mr. Gylby tells me you have set up the gate (you removed) at the end of the middle walk in the upper garden, repaired the walls and coping, and are gravelling the walks; and he tells me he thinks you have made it the finest garden in England."[1] The same correspondence contains frequent references to plants and seeds sent to Kirby, and of pear grafts from Elias Ashmole.

Early in the eighteenth century, Bridges writes: "The gardens here are beautiful, stocked with a great variety of exotic plants, and adorned with a wilderness composed of almost the whole variety of English trees, and ranged in an elegant order." Of all this but little remains, except a few overgrown shrubs near the house, and part of the raised terrace supported by the wall bounding the field on the west of the house, for—

> "Sure gates, sweete gardens, stately galleries,
> Wroughte with faire pillowes and fine imageries;
> All those (O pitie!) now are turned to dust,
> And overgrowne with black oblivious rust."[2]

ALICE DRYDEN.

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1 *Hatton Correspondence*, 1601-1704. Camden Society.
2 Spenser, *Ruins of Time.*

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